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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MADHYA PRADESH

P. K. BHATTACHARYYA

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MADHYA PRADESH

FROM EARLY RECORDS

JACKET PHOTO

Ekamukha-Śivaliṅga,
Gupta, Fifth Century A.D.,
Nachna-kuthara, Madhya Pradesh.

Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MADHYA PRADESH FROM EARLY RECORDS

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TO MY PARENTS

FOREWORD

The name 'Madhya Pradesh' is a translation of the earlier 'Central Provinces' of the Indo-British administration although there is a great difference between the areas of the two. Madhya Pradesh is now the biggest Indian State and was divided among a large number of territories throughout the ages. Thus it is difficult to do full justice to its history and geography, and Dr. P. K. Bhattacharyya's *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh from Early Records* is therefore a welcome contribution on the subject.

While going through Dr. Bhattacharyya's work, the location of Kuśa's capital in the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region brings to our mind a problem relating to the geography of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with particular reference to Madhya Pradesh.

It is well known that most versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII. 108. 5) and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (XV. 97) as well as Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* (89. 199-200) speak of the division of the Kosala Kingdom between Lava and Kuśa, the two sons of Rāma, Lava getting the northern part of Kosala with Śrāvasti as his capital and Kuśa being placed in Kosala with its headquarters at Kuśāvatī or Kuśasthalī. The *Raghuvaṁśa* locates Kuśa's capital in the south, whence one had to cross the Vindhyas in reaching Ayodhyā in Uttara-Kosala (cf. XVI. 31 ff.; also VI. 71). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions Kuśa's capital as situated on the Vindhyan hills.

Thus Bk. VII of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was interpolated, by the second century A. D., in Vālmīki's poem (the major parts of Bks. II-VI) composed about the 3rd century B. C., recognises the existence of a territory that came to be known later as Kosala in the south. We know that Vālmīki speaks of a vast forest between the Yamunā and the Indian Ocean with only the aboriginal kingdom of Kiṣkindhā in it, but that the interpolated sections mention certain territories of the Deccan and the far south, e. g., Kaliṅga, Andhra, Cola, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, etc. However, it was probably difficult for Vālmīki to avoid altogether the territories known in his age even though

his story was set up against an ancient background. The name of Kausalyā, mother of Rāma and wife of the Kosala king Daśaratha, seems to assume some importance in this context. The name reminds us of other epic queens like Kaikeyī, Gāndhārī and Mādrī, respectively meaning the princess of Kekaya, Gandhāra and Madra, and no doubt indicates 'the princess of Kosala'. Strangely enough, nothing is known about Kausalyā's parentage, though she was obviously not a princess of Ayodhyā since Daśaratha could have hardly married his own relation. It is therefore possible that Kausalyā was the princess of Kosala of the south, which was thus known in Vālmīki's days.

The hazards of pilgrimage to distant *tīrthas* were so great before the introduction of the railways in the nineteenth century that few such pilgrims succeeded in returning home alive (cf. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II, 44. 23). Probably even the people responsible for interpolations in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* realised the absurdity of the story of such a long journey to distant Laṅkā in the most primitive travel condition of antiquity, and that is why they introduced the imaginary aerial car for the return journey from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā. Similarly the incredible story of the dragging of an unwilling Sītā by Rāvaṇa to a great distance may have induced them to think of a similar transport in this case as well. We have also to note that the word *Laṅkā* means 'an island' so that there were several places of that name in different parts of India, one of them being paścima-Laṅkā mentioned in a South Kosalan inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII. 323) of the 12th century. There were likewise several Siṁhalas, one of which lay in the Goa region according to the Kharepatan plates (*ibid.*, III. 292) of 1008 A.D. Facts like these appear to have encouraged some writers (cf. e. g., M. V. Kibe, *Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā rediscovered*, 2nd ed., 1920) to suggest that the home of Rāvaṇa lay not so far away, but on the Amarkantak hills in eastern part of Madhya Pradesh. It is, however, impossible to accept such a theory because Vālmīki, quite clearly locates Rāvaṇa's abode far to the south of the Godāvarī beyond the Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra ranges in the waters of the ocean, the location being supported by all early Indian writers like Kālidāsa, Pravarasena,

Kumāradāsa, Bhartṛhari and Bhavabhūti. Moreover, the Amarkantak hills lie in what was the kingdom of south Kosala which seems to have flourished in the age of Vālmīki.

There are many interesting problems in the early and mediaeval geography of Madhya Pradesh like the one discussed above, and Dr. Bhattacharyya's work deals with a number of such questions.

June 8, 1976
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Calcutta 700 053.

D. C. Sircar

PREFACE

The present work substantially represents my thesis for the Ph. D. degree of Calcutta University, and this was completed in October, 1970. The idea of doing a work on this topic first occurred to me in 1962-3 when I had been to my sister's place in Bhopal (M. P.) and my niece Mrs. Latika Banerjee, M. A. took me round to the different places of historical interest in Madhya Pradesh. I must admit that I have been fortunate enough to work under the encouragement and guidance of Dr. D. C. Sircar, formerly Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. I am also deeply obliged to Professor A. L. Basham of Australian National University, Professor K. D. Bajpai of Sagar University, M. P. and Dr. B. C. Sen of Calcutta University (Retd.) for their valuable suggestions and help which I received on many occasions.

I must express my deep gratitude to my mentor Mr. S. K. Chakravarti without whose active assistance the progress of my work would have greatly been hampered. I am also thankful to Mr. Sudhansu Mohan Chowdhury and Mr. Anil Chandra Nag of Asia Engineering Supply Stores (P) Ltd., Calcutta and Mr. Ashok Kumar Ghosh, Managing Director, Prentice Hall Ltd, New Delhi, Professor H.P. Chakravarti, North Bengal University and Mr. Raj Kumar, ICHR, New Delhi for helping me in one way or another.

I am grateful to Professor D. P. Sinha, Dept. of History, North Bengal University, Dr. Bireswar Banerjee, Dept. of Geography, Calcutta University, Professor B. N. Mukherjee, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Dr. N.R. Banerjee, Director, National Museum, New Delhi, Dr. B. N. Sharma, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, and Mr. B. Bhattacharyya, Dept. of Geography, North Bengal University, for their kind and valuable suggestions.

And I am thankful to my sister-in-law Mrs. Dolly Bhattacharyya and my wife Mrs. Ruby Bhattacharyya for their inspiration which sustained me in my work and for their spirit

of sacrifice without which this book might not have appeared at all.

I must also express my deep gratitude to Professor Amlan Dutta, Vice-Chancellor, North Bengal University who took great interest in getting this book published.

My acknowledgements are due to my pupils Smt. Kalpana Banerjee, Mr. Shyamal Guha Roy and Mr. Icchimuddin Sarkar who have helped me in the laborious work of compiling the index.

Lastly, I am very thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for granting me substantial subvention to meet the cost of its publication. I also desire to thank M/S Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi for undertaking publication, and the staff of the Press for the way in which publication has been carried out.

It is quite possible that some mistakes (mostly diacritical marks) have crept into the pages as the book had to be printed within the specified time. For the errors I may have committed, I crave the indulgence of the readers and request them to be so good as to draw my attention to them, so that they may be rectified in future.

7th July, 1976
University of North Bengal, Darjeeling.

Pranab Kumar Bhattacharyya

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INTRODUCTION

It has aptly been remarked that, for an intelligent study of the history of a country, a thorough knowledge of its geography is indispensable. Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616) exclaimed, long ago, "Geographie and Chronologie are the sunne and the moone, the right eye and the left eye of all history". A knowledge of geography is particularly essential in the context of the history of India, which covers a span of several millennia, wherein nations both foreign and indigenous, 'rose and fell like the waves of the sea and broke into nothing'.

The historical geography of the various regions of Europe has been studied by many a scholar;[1] but in Indian history the number of good geographical studies is limited. Among the pioneer works in this line mention may be made of Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India* (1871), which contains a lot of information about ancient India, though the learned author primarily followed the route of Huien Tsang and left all what lay outside the route of the pilgrim.

Cunningham was followed by several scholars, some of whom wrote stray articles. B. C. Law wrote a number of works on early Indian Geography, although his observations and conclusions are not reliable in many places. His *Historical Geography of Ancient India* contains names of rivers, mountains and places which were never heard in ancient India.

Valuable contributions in this respect have, however, been made by other scholars, such as S. N. Majumdar Shastri, H. C. Roychaudhuri, D. C. Sircar, H. D. Sankalia, B. C. Sen, K. D. Bajpai, and others.[2] But very little attempt has been made so far to write about the historical geography of Madhya Pradesh which possesses a chequered history of its own.

1. Cf. E.G.R. Taylor, *Historical Geography of India Before* 1800; W. Gordon East, *An Historical Geography of Europe* (Roman Empire to the late 19th Century) ;

E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans, from the earliest age till the fall of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. New York, 1950.

2. A recent work on the *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar* (1963) by M.S. Pandey, may be cited here.

The present State of Madhya Pradesh was reorganised on the 1st November, 1956. It (Madhya Pradesh) is the largest Indian State in size, with an area of 443,452 sq. km.[1], and it comprises of 17 districts of the former Central Province, and the former States of Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh and the Sironj Sub-Division of the Kotah District. Madhya Pradesh is considered to be 'transitional between the Indo-Gangetic plains and the Deccan, lying between the two great structure-lines of Indian historical geography that from the middle Jumna axis to Cambay, and that along with the Narbada-Choto Nagpur line'.[2]

The physiography moulds the geographic base for human activities and settlement. The geographic personality of a region is erected over this base. The expression-form of the geographical pattern is determined by the technics adopted and the stage of the material culture of the people.[3] On the basis of the physical components Madhya Pradesh may be divided into the following regions (a) Malwa and the Vindhya hills, (b) Bundelkhand Uplands, (c) the Rewah Plateaus, (d) Narmadā-Son Furrow, (e) Satpura (Mahadeo) Maikal Hills, (f) Upper Mahānadī basin (Chhattisgarh) and the Bastar plateaus.

MALWA

Malwa in its widest sense includes all the country lying between the great Vindhya barrier, which forms the northern bank of the Narmadā Valley, and a point just south of Gwalior; its eastern limit is marked by the ridge which runs from south to north starting near Vidisha, while its western limit marches with the Rajputana border.[4] The low-lying division embraces the country round Gwalior (famous for Gopa-Giri) and to the north and north-east of it, extending thence across into Bundelkhand, of which it includes the greater part, till it meets the Kaimur (ancient Kairamālī) hills in Baghelkhan (i.e. the Rewah plateaus).

The hill system of this entire region, of which isolated peaks

1. *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1972-73, page 368.
2. O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, 2nd ed. reprinted in 1964, p. 565.
3. S. P. Chatterjee in *Geographical Review*, March, 1944.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX 1908, p. 322.

rise to over 3,000 ft. above sea-level has a marked effect on the climate, both from the high table-land which it forms on west, and from the direction it gives to the prevailing wind at different seasons.

Physically, Malwa falls into two different divisions[1], which might indeed form separate regions. These are the Vindhyan scarplands of the north, and the great Deccan lava plateau in the south. The former is arid and harder and more rugged in appearance.

The river system is interesting. This region is watered by several rivers which are fed by numerous tributaries that intersect the area and also help to irrigate various parts of the region. The Chambal, Ken and Betwa rise within 20 miles of the Narmadā from the Vindhyan escarpments. The other rivers of note of the area are the Sindh, Kali Sindh, Śiprā, Pārvatī, Mahī and Narmadā. The Chambal and its tributaries, Kali Sindh and Pārvatī have formed a triangular alluvial basin at about 700-900 ft. in Kotah, above the narrow trough of the lower Chambal[2] (the present site of Rana Pratap Sagar Barrage).

In the sixth century B.C. Malwa became famous under the name of Avanti. The north-east plateau of Malwa i.e. the region about Vidiśā was always prosperous and flourishing, a fact which is reflected in the richness of its monuments. In early times this region was famous under the name of Ākara, Daśārṇa and Pūrva Mālava. The north-west plateau of Malwa comprises Mandasor and part of the Ratlam District. This tract is hilly and rugged which aids the development of characteristics required for military way of life[3]. The Mālavas and the Aulikaras, who ruled over this region, were well known for their heroic activities. Daśapura (modern Mandasor) was the reputed city of this region.

The valleys of the rivers of Narmadā, Chambal, Betwa, Śiprā and others were the cradles of great cultural activities of India from time immemorial. In the historical times we come across cities like Ujjayinī (Ujjain), Māhiṣmatī (Maheshwar or Mandhata), Vidiśā (Besnagar), Daśapura (Mandsor) etc. which

1. O.H.K. Spate, *op. cit.* p. 576.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 567-77.
3. K. C. Jain, *Malwa through the Ages*, 1972, p. 17.

sprang up on the banks of these rivers and the greatness of these cities are immortalised by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*.

It has rightly been remarked that historically Malwa displays curious duality.[1] The Deccan Lavas provide the extensive agricultural base in central India, and as a result of which the people mostly took to agricultural and other peaceful pursuits. Attracted by the easier way of life, settlers from the different parts migrated to this region from time to time. Again, as a land of passage from Hindusthan into the Deccan, it has constantly changed hands, 'the invariable appanage to the domains of every monarch, native or barbarian, who became the master of the Gangetic plain.'[2] The Maurya and Gupta rulers conquered it and made it a base for future expansion of their powers. The Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle was fought, for both the powers wanted to exercise their control over this region. Again, Malwa had to bear the brunt of fighting between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Even the powerful rulers of the Paramāra dynasty, like Muñja and Bhoja could not prevent its being attacked.

Both in peace as well as in war the Malwa route was always one of the most significant in India. Three routes met in Avanti from the Western coast, from Deccan and from Śrāvastī. This led to its development in trade and commerce from the early times.

BUNDELKHAND AND THE REWAH PLATEAUS

It is a homogeneous dissected upland with a tongue of U.P. territory in the Jhansi District. It presents an old erosion surface, carved out of granite. The northern alluvial plains merge imperceptibly into granitic uplands. The frequent constriction of drainage by the dykes, favours a multiplicity of small tanks and thus enables agriculture to be carried on with some security in a region of variable rainfall around 45 ins.

South of the Bundelkhand uplands, three of the massive sandstones stand out so conspicuously that they are distinguished by special names : Kaimur sandstone, Rewah sandstone and

1. O. H. K. Spate, *op. cit.* p. 579.
2. Loc cit.

Bhanrer sandstone to the south of Nagod except for a very narrow strip along the Son, most of the drainage to the Ganges via the Ken or the Tons. Here rainfall is 40-50 ins. Much of the alluvium is a fertile black loamy soil good for wheat cultivation. The area round this region is rich in forests.

The inhabitants are mostly agriculturists, but of a more sturdy physical type than the Malwa peasantry.

In the sixth century B.C., the Cedi kingdom arose round the river Śuktimatī (or Ken). In the early mediaeval period with the fall of the Imperial Gurjjara Pratīhāras, the Candellas of Jejākabhukti became very prominent with Kharjjūra-vāhaka (modern Khajuraho, famous for the temples and sculpture made of sandstone) as their citadel. Dhaṅga (c. 950-1000 A.D.) was the first independent ruler of the dynasty. Numerous detatched masses or outliers stand in front of the mainline of sandstone escarpment, often crowned by those impregnable fortresses which have played so important a part in the history of India, particularly under the Candellas such as Kālañjara (Kalinjar in U.P.), Bandhogarh and Ajaigarh.

The brave rulers of the Candella dynasty made extensive conquests. They played a significant part in checking the muslim onslaught in Northern India after the fall of the Imperial Pratīhāras.

The kingdom of the Candellas was bordered on the south by that of the Kalacuris of the Cedi country. At the time of Albirūnī (1030-31 A.D.) Tiaurī (i.e. Tripurī or modern Tewar in the Jabalpur District) was the capital of Ḍāhala-maṇḍala i.e. the land of the Kalacuris.

The entire area is very rich in mineral resources. The districts of Sidhi, Rewa, Panna, Chhatarpur and Tikamgarh have yielded ochre, sillimanite and good quality coal.

THE NARMADĀ VALLEY AND THE SATPURA-MAHADEO-MAIKAL RANGES

The Narmadā rises on Amarkantak, the most prominent of the Maikal Hills, and has a complex course as far as the Marble Rock gorge, below Jabalpur. The valley of the Narmadā from Jabalpur to Handia is a great alluvial flat. The steep-

ness and straightness of the lower Narmadā gorges suggest a recent origin, and that it is likely that Narmadā originally flowed out of the Tāptī-line via Burhanpur gap.

The human interest of the Narmadā is great. It is regarded as a holy river and its sanctity is rivalled only by the Ganges. It was also considered as the boundary between Madhyadeśa and Dakṣiṇāpatha (i.e. Middle and the Southern land). "To the Marathas all to the North was foreign—and indeed the river forms part of the most persistent internal frontier in India."[1]

The lowlying valley of the river is enclosed by the ranges of the Vindhyas and Satpura (Seven Folds) to the north and south respectively. The country is flat and fertile and cultivation here is more widespread. Along the Vindhya hills, the country becomes wilder, and teak forests predominate in this area. The climate, however, is not as mild as that of the plateau in the north. This region was known as Anūpa in ancient India with the famous city of Māhiṣmatī (modern Maheshwar or Mandhata) on the bank of the Narmadā as its capital. The Deccan Lava block of the Satpuras sinks between Burhanpur and Khandwa to 1200 ft. and is being guarded by the great hill-fort of Asirgarh (ancient Aśvatthāmā-giri).

Further east are the Mahadeo hills (sometimes included in the Satpura Range), and beyond Jabalpur the great bastion of the Maikal Range is crowned by the famous Amarkantak (3,493 ft.). The site values of the important local-centres like Khandwa and Hoshangabad (famous for rock-paintings) are outshadowed by Jabalpur occupying a commanding position at the head of the Narmadā trough with relatively easy routes towards various directions. This was the ancient region of Jauli-pattalā and close to the renowned city of Tripurī (modern Tewar). Tripurī as we have already seen, was the capital of Ḍāhalamaṇḍala under the Kalacuris who became the most significant power of India in the early mediaeval period.

The basaltic or volcanic rocks known as the Deccan trap cover a large area occupying the greater position of the districts of Sagar, Jabalpur, Mandla, Seoni, Chhindwara and Nimar. The region covered by the volcanic rocks consists of undulating plains divided from each other by flat-topped

1. *Central India Gazetteer*, 1908 pp. 104-5.

ranges of hills. The black cotton soil is found throughout this tract. The main areas of Gondwana rocks are found in the Satpura Range and in the former Bilaspur Zamindaris.

THE SON VALLEY

The Son rises near the source of the Narmadā at the Amarkantak in the Maikal Range. It flows through the Bilaspur and Rewa regions of Madhya Pradesh and finally joins the Ganges near Patna. Son is the Erannoboas (Hiraṇaya-vāha) of the classical writers. It is one of the few masculine rivers (i.e. *nada*) of India. But the physical interest of its valley far outweighs the human.[1]

UPPER MAHĀNADĪ BASIN AND THE BASTAR PLATEAUS

Between the Maikal and the Orissa Hills lies the great plain, 80-100 miles wide of the upper Mahānadī. Most of the plain is drained by the Mahānadī-Seonath; on the north-west it is limited by the Maikal scraps, on the south it rises into the jungly hills of Bastar. This plain of Chhattisgarh (36 Forts) is girdled by more or less broken forest country, and until the coming of the Marathas was historically an isolated Gond kingdom. It may be mentioned that 'the various Gond tribes have given their name not only to all the area between the Son and Chhattisgarh, but (through the Gondwana rocks) to the great ancient landmass which bulks so large in geological history.'[2]

The Mahānadī with its large number of tributaries facilitated the works of irrigation and has made this region not only rich in forest but an important granary of Madhya Pradesh. This region along with Sambalpur (Orissa) formed the ancient territory of South Kośala (Dakṣiṇa Kośala) with Śrīpura (modern Sirpur) as its capital. Tummāna (Modern Tumain) was another important city of this region.

Extensive stretches of lower Vindhyan rocks occur in Raipur, Bilaspur and Bastar, and they are composed of quartzite sandstone, superimposed by blue or purple limestone and shale. The most important mineral of this region is coal.

1. O. H. K. Spate, *op. cit.*, pp. 584-86; R. D. Oldham in *Memoires of the Geological Survey of India* Vol. XXXI (1901), pp. 1778.
2. O.H.K Spate, *op. cit.*, p. 587.

Bastar is a highly dissected and almost entirely forested plateau, most of which drains to the Godāvarī via the Indravatī; it is for the most part a mass of undifferentiated gneiss covered by a mass jungle.[1] The region is rich in mineral resources. It was the ancient country of Cakrakūṭa with its capital at Bārasūra (modern Barsur). At the time of Rājendracola's invasion in the first half of 11th century A.D., it was divided into a number of principalities besides Cakrakūṭa.

These are the geographical bases of the present State of Madhya Pradesh to which we have confined our discussion. The present work embodies the results of an intensive study of the mountain and river systems, territories, districts, cities and routes of Madhya Pradesh on the basis of the early Indian literature like the epics, Purāṇas, *Kāvyas*, astrological and astronomical works, etc. as well as the Buddhist and Jaina texts. The Buddhist sources are often precise and trustworthy. Reference may be made to the description of the journey made by Bāvari's disciples from Aśmaka to Śrāvastī in order to meet the Buddha. This is found in the *Suttanipāta*, and is of immense value so far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned.

The materials obtained from the indigenous sources are sometimes supplemented and corroborated by the accounts left by the foreign writers. These are of course not always to be implicitly relied upon. Hiuen Tsang, the prince among the Buddhist pilgrims who visited India, refers to *li* indicating the measurements of distances in China. It is difficult to say exactly in what sense it was used by Hiuen Tsang in India. Cunningham takes six *lis* as equivalent to one English mile, though this calculation does not always appear to be correct. In recent years, it is usually taken that three *lis* make one English mile. Thus we find that there are different opinions regarding the interpretation of the measurements recorded by Hiuen Tsang. The fact is that as Hiuen Tsang travelled on foot and used to determine the distance of the roads mainly on the basis of his imagination, no scientific precision can be expected in the measurement indicated by him.

Besides the sources referred to above, we have other materials

1. *Ibid.*, pp.679-80.

which are generally considered to be more genuine; they are epigraphs, coins and seals. The inscriptions sometimes refer to the boundary of a piece of land granted or the administrative unit in which a particular village was situated. A large number of inscriptions of the various ruling dynasties have been discovered from different parts of Madhya Pradesh, and it is needless to emphasise their importance in this respect. In this connection a few books may be worth mentioning. These are (a) Hiralal, *Descriptive List of Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar*, (b) V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, and (c) D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. 1.

Coins sometimes give us very interesting information regarding the names of localities from where they were issued. Coins bearing the names of the cities like Tripurī and Ujjayinī may be cited in this connection.

The present work consists of seven chapters. At first, we have given an outline of the history of Madhya Pradesh from its earliest times down to the formation of the State itself. For in the earliest times there was no single geographical unit commensurate with the present State of Madhya Pradesh, which is a modern creation.

Thus, the first two chapters deal with the historical outline of Madhya Pradesh from the earliest times to the creation of the State of Madhya Pradesh. With the help of the census reports and other relevant materials we have attempted to show the stages of the formation of the present Madhya Pradesh. In the succeeding chapters we have discussed Mountain System, River System, Territories and Districts, Capitals, Cities and Towns, and lastly, Villages, Routes and Miscellaneous items.

Madhya Pradesh is a mountanous region, and the composers of the Purāṇas were not unaware of this fact, since at least three of the *Sapta-Kulācalas* can be traced in this land. A large number of small hills are associated with the local traditions. Kālidāsa too refers to the number of hills and rivers, which can definitely be placed in the present Madhya Pradesh. We have taken into consideration only those rivers which find mention at least once in early literature or inscriptions.

The ancient history of Madhya Pradesh is basically the his-

tory of various kingdoms that rose on the soil. Our source materials help us not a little in understanding the nature of the administration, or the administrative units which facilitated the administration in these kingdoms. These form the basis of the chapter entitled Territories and Districts. In the next chapter we deal with Capitals, Cities and Towns.

The villages in the last chapter are grouped as identified and unidentified. The villages are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. There are many villages in Madhya Pradesh, which abound in archaeological remains; but we have avoided mentioning those which do not occur in any of our source materials. The routes of Madhya Pradesh formed another section of this chapter. It is very difficult to trace out ancient routes accurately, though the literature of early times leaves no doubt that the high roads connecting different cities and towns were in existence and sometimes the roads ran through the different kingdoms of the time. The *Mahābhārata* (III. 62) may be shown as an instance in point.

The Buddhist literature describes in some details the destination of the roads and the places lying on them. The accounts of foreign writers like Hiuen Tsang, Albirūnī and others help us greatly. In spite of all these materials at our disposal, we have insufficient knowledge about ancient routes running across various parts of the country, connecting different places of importance, in the absence of proper maps. We believe, however, that our attempt to trace the main routes in the ancient kingdoms of Madhya Pradesh has not been a failure. On miscellaneous items we have incorporated a few geographical matters, which could not conveniently be placed in the topics suggested above. These include big tanks and reservoirs, sacred places, forests, etc. In this connection we may refer to the problems of the Elephant forests (*Gajavana*), which can be located within the present delimitation of Madhya Pradesh.

A few maps of ancient Madhya Pradesh have been incorporated. These maps contain indications about location of the ancient kingdoms, their capitals and cities, mountains, rivers, routes etc. These will, we think, be of some help for a proper understanding of the problems connected with the ancient historical geography of Madhya Pradesh.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE history of Madhya Pradesh can be traced from very early times. In 1867-68, A.C. Carllyle discovered a large number of pigmy flints of the neolithic age in Rewa.[1] Earlier in 1866, W. L. Wilson of the Geological Survey of India collected a number of paleolithic tools from the trap area forming the Southern boundary of the Sagar District.[2] Before 1952, it was known from the work of the Yale-Cambridge Expedition that man had inhabited the Narmadā Valley between Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur in the Middle Pleistocene period (about 2,00,000 years ago.)[3] A man who chipped tools with the help of other stones lived on its bank. Discovery of similar tools in similar contexts at Maheshwar, Mandasor and Nahargadh on the Sivna, and other places on the Chambal points to the fact that this region was also inhabited during the stone Age. Moreover, judging from the types of tools, it appears that the man on the Narmadā was not different from one who lived on the Chambal.[4] Recent excavations at Bhimbetka (77 57′E 22 65′N) in the Raisen District have brought to light the earliest sequence of paleolithic times and the residential cave floor of Acheulian hunters (more than 50,000 years ago).[5] Earlier, the excavations at Maheshwar, Kayatha, Nagda, Eran and Navdatoli have yielded sufficient traces of chalcolithic culture.[6] The excavations at Ujjain, however, have not yielded

1. *I.G.I.*, Vol. II, p. 92.

2. J. C. Brown, *Catalogue of prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, Calcuta, Simla, 1917, p. 62.

3. H. D. Sankalia, *An Introduction to the Pre- and Proto-History of Malwa*, Poona, 1958, p. 5.

4. *Loc. cit.*

5. See V. S. Wakankar's article in *J.I.H.*, April, 1972 on Bhimbetka excavation.

6. H.D. Sankalia, *prehistory and protohistory in India and Pakistan*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 197 ff. Also cf. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subharao and S. B. Deo, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli* (Poona and Baroda, 1958), and K. D. Bajpai's Presidential Address (History Section) at the All India Oriental Conference (26th Session) at Ujjain, 1972.

any chalcolithic material, while Ujjain is surrounded, like an island, by the chalcolithic sites. According to Sankalia,[1] the early iron-using people of Ujjain destroyed the chalcolithic settlements.

Possibly, this happened also at Maheswar, Navdatoli and Eran as well.[2] In fact, this period heralds the first empires which were contemporary with the Buddha.

The riddle of haematite drawings discovered in the caves or rock-shelters along with interesting relics in the various districts of Madhya Pradesh, indicate the habitations of the 'primitive people' and their movements in those areas. Of the two forest sites in the Raisen District, 152 painted rock-shelters at Barkhera and 55 at Kharwai have been discovered.[3]

The earliest stratum yielded a few paleolithic tools. This was followed by those using smaller stone tools, microlithic implements and, finally, pottery. Recently, ten rock-shelters have been discovered in the Itar-pahar hill, 36 km. from Rewa.[4] Besides Raisen and Rewa the rock-paintings and engravings have also been discovered in the districts of Mandsaur, Narsinghagarh, Bhopal, Hoshangabad, Sagar, Panna, Ambikapur and Raigarh. Stone implements, bones and pot-sherds have been obtained in several of the rock-shelters. These relics, along with the paintings have been found useful for the study of the material culture of the people inhabiting the rock-shelters. According to Prof. Bajpai,[5] 'a date somewhere about 6000 B.C. may be ascribed to the earliest painters. The lower limit of the paintings may be 8th-9th century A.D.'

Thus, it appears that long before the advent of the Ṛgvedic aryans in the Indian subcontinent the areas coming under the

1. H. D Sankalia. *An Introduction to the Pre- and Proto-Hisotry of Malwa*, Poona, 1958, p. 1.

2. H. D. Sankalia, *Pre-history and Proto-History in India and Pakixtan*, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

3. K. D. Bajpai, *loc. cit.* The Vikram University, Ujjain, in collaboration with the Deccan College, Poona, has also conducted field work in the Barkhera area with similar results.

4. *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62—*A Review*, pp. 23-24. Four factory sites of the Middle and Late Stone Age tools were located between Rock-shelters 1 and 3; *op. cit.*, p. 24.

5. K. D. Bajpai, *loc. cit.* For recent studies on the rock-paintings and of the shelters inhabited by early cave-men in India, also see K. D. Bajpai's Presidential address (History Section) at the 26th Session of the Oriental Conference at Ujjain.

purview of our study were humming with busy life and human activities. The aspirations and cultural attainments of these people have been faithfully reflected in the rock-paintings and in the discovery of various objects from the different cultural levels of a number of sites. Great centres of culture and civilization gradually developed in the valleys of the Narmadā, Chambal, Betwa and other rivers. The stone age people first settled in these valleys, where they found moderate climate and abundant resources for livelihood. Later on, the chalcolithic people made their homes near the banks of the rivers. Among the chalcolithic sites, Maheshwar and Navdatoli, Eran, Kayatha, Nagda are very important. They found the river banks convenient for making pottery, and for cultivation. In course of time important cities like Ujjayinī, Māhiṣmatī, Vidiśā, Daśapura, Airikiṇa, Tripurī, etc., sprang up on the banks of these rivers and left their mark in the history of ancient India.

The *Ṛgveda*,[1] though its latest stratum seems to exhibit a knowledge of the Eastern and Western Seas, i.e., the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, does not mention the river Narmadā. But it refers to *Dakṣiṇa-padā* 'with southward foot',[2] indicating the place where the exile (*parā-vṛj*) goes on being expelled. This possibly means 'the south' beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan World, which even as late as the days of the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*[3] appears as bounded by the Vindhyas in the south. In the age of the Brāhmaṇas, the Aryans possibly crossed the Vindhya range for the first time.[4]

Pāṇini (c. fifth century B.C.) does not mention any territory lying to the south of the Narmadā except that of Aśmaka,[5] which some scholars locate in the south-west. In the list of

1. X, 136, 5; also D. C. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in early Indian Literature*, p. 15.

2 X, 61, 8.

3. II, 13; also *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 336-37; and Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 30.

4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 34, 9; 17, 18; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*, XV, 26.

5. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, iv. 1. 173. Alexander's historians mention 'Assakenos' which probably represents Sanskrit Aśvaka (i.e. land of horses), and not Aśmaka (i.e. land of stone). The Aśvakas are placed in the north-west by the authors of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (*P.H.A.I.*, 6th ed., p. 245).

States mentioned by Pāṇini, we come across the names of Avanti and Kośala.[1] Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* (fourth century B.C.) give evidence of a much wider knowledge of South India.[2]

One of the oldest works of Pali Buddhist literature, the *Suttanipāta*,[3] speaks of the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari who came from the city of the Kośalas (Śrāvasti) and settled in the country of Assaka, on the banks of the Godāvarī. His disciples who went to the Buddha in a mission at Sāvatthi (Śrāvasti), passed through, among other places, Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī) Ujjenī (Ujjayinī), Gonaddha (Gonarda), Vedisā (Vaidiśa-Vidiśā), and Vana-Savhaya (Tumbavana), all of which may be located in the present Madhya Pradesh.[4]

It appears that to the South of the Vindhyas, there were many Brāhmaṇa anchorites who lived in hermitages at different places before Rāma entered Daṇḍakāraṇya. In fact, both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* preserve the tradition that the Brāhmaṇa sage Agastya first crossed the Vindhya range and initiated the Aryan immigration to the south. In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, we find that Śarāvatī-nagarī (Śrāvastī of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) is described as the capital of the kingdom of Lava, son of Rāma, while the latter's other son Kuśa, reigned at Kuśāvatī. Kuśāvatī, it has been suggested,[5] lay in a territory to the south of the Vindhyas, apparently in the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region, which was called Kośala at least before the composition of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa.

The *Aṅguttaranikāya*[6] mentions what appears to be a stereotyped list of the *Solasa-Mahā-Janapada*, i.e. 'the Sixteen Great States'. Of these, Avanti[7] which includes the two well-known divisions—the northern division, called Avanti with its capital of Ujjayinī (Ujjain) and the southern division, called Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpath with its capital at Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī)—was one, while the other parts of Madhya Pradesh were occupied by the kingdoms of the Vatsas, Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam,

1. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, iv. 1. 176; 1, 171.
2. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of Deccan*, pp. 11 ff.
3. vs. 976-77; and also vs. 1011-13.
4. Sylvain Lévi, *Gonarda, le berceau du Gonardîya*, (translated by Sircar in *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 206).
5. *Raghu.* XVI, 31; see *P. H. A. I.*, 6th ed., p. 538.
6. *Pali Text Society*, vols, I, 213; iv, 252, 256, 260.
7. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 34 note 2, 35, note 5, etc.

U. P.), as their chief town, and of the Cetis with their capital at Sotthivatī (Śuktimatī city). The Ceti (Caidya or Cedi) country corresponds roughly to the modern Rewa Division.

The *Mahāvastu*[1] offers a new name, i.e. Daśārṇa, in its list of the Great States of India. It was one of the old names of East Malwa, with its capital at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Vidisha district) in Madhya Pradesh.

The Avanti branch of the Haihaya clan of the famous Yādava tribe gave their name to the kingdom. Later on, the rule of Avanti passed to another branch of the Haihaya clan, the Vītihotras. Towards the end of the sixth century B.C., the Vītihotras were themselves conquered by the Pradyotas.[2] The Jaina *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* speaks of the inclusion of large parts of modern East Malwa including Tumbavana (Tumain in the Guna district) in the ancient State of Avanti.[3] About the beginning of the fifth century B.C., Avanti became a very important power in India under the rule of Pradyotas. According to the early Buddhist traditions, the three rivals of Avanti were (1) Magadha, with its capital at Girivraja-Rājagṛha, (Patna), (2) Kośala with Śrāvasti (Śet-Mahet) as its capital, and (3) Vatsa with its capital at Kauśāmbī (Kosam).

Early traditions suggest Pradyota's protracted warfare with king Udayana of Vatsa. In accordance with the principles of *mitr-āmitra-cakra*, however, Bimbisāra of Magadha should have friendly relations with Pradyota.[4] In fact, the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[5] represents Pradyota as a great friend of Bimbisāra. The king of Avanti, next went forth to attack Rājagṛha even when Bimbisāra was alive; but it is said that his attempt was foiled by the cunning of prince Abhaya of Magadha.[6] According to the *Majjhimanikāya*,[7] Ajātaśatru, son of Bimbisāra, once fortified Rājagṛha in anticipation of an invasion of his empire by Pradyota. Possibly, the invasion never materialised. Pradyota also came into conflict with Puṣkarasārin, king of Taxila, but

1. *Mahāvastu*, ed. by Senart, 1, 34.
2. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 23.
3. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, XII, 2-3.
4. For the theory of *mitr-āmitra-cakra*, i.e. the cycle of friends and enemies of a king, see *A.M.V.T.*, p. 23.
5. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* vol. I, 1960, p. 838.
6. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 205; *A.B.O.R.I.*, 1920-21, p. 3.
7. III, 7.

the struggle was indecisive.[1] He maintained a close relation with the ruler of Mathurā.[2]

After Pradyota, his son Pālaka came to the throne of Ujjayinī probably after supplanting his elder brother, Gopāla. According to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Pālaka, who was not a popular ruler, was ousted by Āryaka, who was probably the son of Gopāla. Again, the Nepalese *Bṛhatkathā*[3] suggests that Gopāla succeeded Mahāsena (Pradyota), but abdicated in favour of his brother Pālaka, who, in turn, renounced the crown in favour of Gopāla's son Avantivardhana. The Jaina *Āvaśyakakathānaka* (*IV*) reproduced by Bhadreśvara in his *Kahāvali* states that Pradyota had two great grandsons (i.e. grandsons of his son Pālaka), viz., Avantisena and Maṇiprabha the former ruling over Ujjayinī and the latter over Kauśāmbī.[4] Sircar holds that Āryaka was succeeded by Pālaka's son Viśākhayūpa of the Purāṇas, who was succeeded by his son Avantisena-Avantivardhana, the last ruler of the dynasty.[5] Of course, the exact date of the occupation of the Vatsa kingdom by Avanti, as it is hinted at by the episode of Maṇiprabha's rule at the Vatsa Capital, cannot be determined.[6]

Magadha, in the meantime, became a great power and stood face to face with Avanti. The Jaina *Sthavirāvalicarita*[7] mentions the hostile relation between king Udāyin of Magadha and the king of Avanti. Śiśunāga supplanted the Baimbika family and became the king of Magadha. He is said to have exterminated the power of Avanti, and possibly, annexed the kingdom to the Magadhan empire.[8]

Śiśunāga was succeeded by his sons, Kākavarṇa (of the Purāṇas) or Kālāśoka (of the Ceylonese Chronicles) who is known to have called the Second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī.

1. Lacote, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā*, p. 176.
2. *D.P.P.N.*, S. V. Avantiputra; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 204.
3. Lacote, *op. cit.*, p. 115, cf. *Kathāsaritsāgar*, XIX, 57.
4. *P.H.A.I.*, 6th ed., pp. 204n, 221n.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 31.
6. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Indian reprint, 1962, p. 16.
7. VI, 189-90; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 217.
8. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 220; *A.M.V.T.*, p. 51.

His successors[1] were his ten sons who probably ruled simultaneously.

According to tradition, the Śaiśunāga line was overthrown by the Nanda dynasty. The Nandas were represented by nine rulers, a father followed by his eight sons. There is a great deal of confusion in the traditional evidence regarding the origin and history of the Nandas.[2] It seems, however, that the first Nanda, whose name is given in the Purāṇas as Mahāpadma and in the *Mahābodhivaṁśa* as Ugrasena, was a man of low origin, probably, a barber by profession as hinted at by the classical writers. But the Nandas seem to have been eager to describe themselves as Kṣatriyas.[3]

The first Nanda, as known from the Purāṇas, annihilated all the Kṣatriyas like the legendary Paraśurāma, and became the sole ruler (*eka-rāṭ*) of the earth. Thus, he is said to have overthrown most of the ruling dynasties of his time, viz., the Ikṣvākus, Pañcālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas, Vītihotras, and others. Amongst these, the Haihayas occupied a part of the Narmadā Valley. The Vītihotra sovereignty, as we have already seen, had terminated before the rise of the Pradyotas of Avanti. But the Śaiśunāgas possibly paved the way for the restoration of some scions of the old line in Avanti.[4] From the Purānic evidence, it appears that the Vītihotras were one of the five *gaṇas* of the Haihayas, and the survival of the latter is testified to by inscriptional evidence.[5]

The classical writers aver that Agrammes or Xandrames, the Nanda contemporary of Alexander, ruled over the Praasii and the Gangaridae, indicating the East Indians, i.e., the peoples of Bihar, North Bengal and the lower Gangetic delta,[6] who were the most powerful peoples dwelling beyond 'the extensive deserts' (i.e. the Rajputana deserts).[7] This suggests

1. The list of the successors is given in the *Mahābodhivaṁśa*; a slightly different list appears in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 369; see *P.H.A.I.*, p. 222.
2. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 228ff.; also *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (ed. N. Shastri), pp. 9ff.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, loc. cit.
4. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 69.
5. Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 94, 51-52; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 234n.
6. *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1947, pp. 91 ff; and *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 172 ff.
7. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 128.

that the dominions of the Nandas included Bengal in the east and extended towards the west upto the Beas and the Rajputana deserts.

Agrammes or Xandrames, which may stand for Nanda or Augrasena, 'the son of Ugrasena', is generally identified with the last Nanda, known as Dhana in the *Mahābodhi-vaṁśa*. According to the classical accounts he 'was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne'.[1]

Right at this moment, the emergence of Candragupta Maurya is an important episode in the political history of India. With the help of Kauṭilya, son of a Brāhmaṇa of Taxila, he is said to have overthrown the infamous Nanda.[2] The story of the emergence of Candragupta Maurya and the subsequent overthrow of the Nandas by him is essentially obscure. But Plutarch[3] states that Candragupta overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 6,00,000 men. This would suggest that he had to recover the various provinces of the Nanda empire gradually after consolidating his position in Magadha.[4] In the days of Aśoka, there were at least five provinces under the Mauryas, of which four undoubtedly formed part of Candragupta's empire. These are Avantīrāṭṭha i.e. Avantīrāṣṭra (capital-Ujjayini), Dakṣiṇāpatha (capital-Suvarṇagiri ?), Uttarāpatha (capital-Takṣaśilā) and Prācya (capital-Pāṭaliputra). The fifth province was Kaliṅga, which was the only conquest of Aśoka.[5]

According to Buddhist traditions,[6] the Avantīrāṣṭra with its headquarters at Ujjayinī was also one of the provinces of the Maurya empire under Bindusāra and Aśoka, the son and the grandson of Candragupta Maurya, respectively. Aśoka himself was for a time his father's viceroy at Ujjayinī. In the inscriptions of Aśoka, official injustice and corruption are

1. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222.
2. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Candragupta and Nanda are preserved in the *Milindapañho*, *Purāṇas*, *Mudrārākṣasa*, *Mahāvaṁśaṭīkā* and *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*.
3. *Plutarch's Life of Alexander*, LXII, Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
4. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 54.
5. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 287-88; for the conquest of Kaliṅga, see R. E. XIII, *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., pp. 34 ff.
6. *P.H.A.I.*, *loc cit.*; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 500.

referred to in connection with Takṣaśilā, Ujjayinī and other places of the empire. From the first of the Kaliṅga edicts[1] it is clear that Ujjayinī was one of the most important centres of Maurya administration and that it was governed by a *Kumāra* (i.e. a prince of the royal blood, often a son or a brother of the emperor).

On becoming an ardent Buddhist a few years after his accession, Aśoka erected some *stūpas* and railings at Sāñcī, possibly about 250 B.C.[2] The Śāñcī edict is one of the four minor pillar edicts of Aśoka dealing with the penalty for creating schism[3] in the Buddhist Church. The rock edicts of Aśoka have also been discovered from other parts of Madhya Pradesh,[4] one at Rūpnath in the Jabalpur district, and another from the Datia District.

After the demise of Aśoka, the Maurya provinces began to fall off one by one, and the Greeks of Bactria, about the second century B.C., came across the North-Western India and reached as far as Pāṭaliputra in the east after sweeping over the greater part of Northern India. The capture of Pāṭaliputra, the Mauryan capital, by the Greeks, according to Sircar,[5] led ultimately to the overthrow of the Mauryan dynasty by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (C. 187-151 B.C.).

Puṣyamitra succeeded in driving out the Greeks from the present Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and the eastern part of the Punjab. His empire ultimately extended to the Narmadā, and included some cities like Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā, and perhaps also Jālandhara and Śākala.[6] Merutuṅga incorporated Avanti into the dominions of Puṣyamitra.[7]

The *Mālavikāgnimitra*[8] states that Vidiśā (modern Besnagar) was governed by prince Agnimitra, as the Viceroy (*goptṛ*) of his father Puṣyamitra. One of the brothers-in-law of

1. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 43-44.
2. N. L. Dey, *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 178.
3. Hultzsch, *C.I.I.*, vol. I, pp. 160 ff.
4. *Sel.* Ins., pp. 47 ff; *Ep. Ind.* vol XXXI, pp. 205ff.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 59.
6. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 371; *Divyāvadāna* (Darbhanga ed.), p. 282; For the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhana (deva), see *Sel. Ins.* pp. 94 ff.
7. *P.H.A.I.*, *loc. cit.*
8. Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act. V, v. 20-*sampadyate na khalu Goptari Agnimitre*.

Agnimitra was placed in charge of a frontier fortress on the bank of the Narmadā.[1] From the text it appears that the king of Vidarbha, Yajñasena, was a natural enemy (*prakṛtyamitra*) of Puṣyamitra's family. Yajñasena's cousin, Mādhavasena, a friend of Agnimitra, was captured and incarcerated in Vidarbha, while he was secretly on his way to Vidiśā. Consequently, Agnimitra declared war against the Vidarbha king and defeated him. The kingdom of Vidarbha was ultimately divided between Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, both of whom acknowledged the suzerainty of the house of Puṣyamitra.[2]

It is difficult to say whether any part of the present Malwa tract was invaded or occupied by the Greeks during the time of Puṣyamitra. But the *Mālavikāgnimitra* states that prince Vasumitra, the grandson and the general of Puṣyamitra, fought against the Greeks (*Yavanas*) on the right bank of the Sindhu. Some scholars are inclined to identify this river with the Kalisindh (a tributary of the Chambal) in the Malwa area; but Sircar thinks that the reference is to the river Indus.[3]

In his struggle against the Greeks, Puṣyamitra received enormous help from the turn of events. The fierce battle between the partisans of Demetrius and Euckratides possibly drew most of the Indo-Bactrian warriors to Uttarāpatha from all parts of Madhyadeśa,[4] and this must have made Puṣyamitra's task easier, though he took considerable time in reoccupying the entire Madhyadeśa.[5] After the victorious wars with Vidarbha (Berar) and the Yavanas, Puṣyamitra performed two horse sacrifices.[6]

According to a tradition in the *Stūpāvadāna* of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, king Milinda (Menander) built a *Stūpa* at Pāṭaligrāma (Pāṭaliputra). Sircar[7] considers it as a

1. Cf...*So bhaṭṭinā antavāladugge Nammadātīre ṭhāvido* (*Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act I).
2. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 372-73.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 61.
4. Cf. *Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddha-durmadāḥ Ātma-cakrotthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ parama-dāruṇam. —Gārgi-Saṁhitā*; see Kern, *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, p. 38.
5. *J.R.A.S.*, 1963, p. 20.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 57.
7. *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*

reference to a second Yavana invasion of the capital of Magadha under Menander's leadership about the close of the second century B.C., which, he suggests, led to the transfer of the Śuṅga Capital from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā. This is supported by the Besnagar inscription[1] of Bhāgabhadra, possibly the fifth ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty. Bhāgabhadra is said to have received, the Vaiṣṇavite Greek, Heliodoras, an ambassador of the Greek *Mahārāja* named Aṁtalikita (Antialcidas), at Vidiśā. Again, it appears from another record[2] that the ninth Śuṅga king, Bhāgavata, raised a temple of Viṣṇu at Vidiśā. A local ruler of the Barhut region (in the old Nagaudh State in the Satna District) is known to have acknowledged the supremacy of the later Śuṅgas.[3]

Though the Purāṇas represent the Śuṅgas as well as the Kāṇvas and Andhras (Sātavāhanas) as the rulers of Magadha, it lay outside the Andhra-Sātavāhana empire. Sircar has attempted to show that the later rulers of the Śuṅga dynasty had lost Magadha and were ruling in Central India with Vidiśā as their Capital.[4] Thus, it is likely that the Śuṅgas were overthrown by the Kāṇvas, and the Kāṇvas by the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas in that region.[5]

While the Magadha empire was in the process of dissolution, the Andhras (Sātavāhanas) emerged as the most important power in trans-Vindhyan India. The royal family, called Sātavāhana in inscriptions, is mentioned as Andhra in the Purāṇas, which describe the founder of the line as belonging to the Andhra *jāti* or race.[6] The earliest mention of the Andhras can be traced in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (c. sixth cent. B.C.) apparently as living in the Vindhya region.[7] It appears from the historical section of the Purāṇas[8] that Simuka, originally a feudatory of the Kāṇvas, overthrew his overlord, Suśarman who was probably ruling over Malwa and the adjoining regions about the third quarter of the first century B.C.

1. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 90-91.
2. *A.S.R.*, 1913-14, p. 190.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 59-60.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid.* p. 66.
7. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18.
8. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇa, and he, in turn by his son Śātakarṇi I. Śātakarṇi I was a powerful ruler. The Nanaghat inscription[1] states that he performed one *Rājasūya* and two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The inclusion of Sāñcī within his dominion is perhaps suggested by a record[2] discovered from there. The discovery of coins of the type called 'the Malwa fabric', bearing the name of king Sāta also points to the early Sātavāhana rule in Malwa. These coins are similar to the early cast and punch-marked coins of Eran, Besnagar and Ujjain, i.e., both East and West Malwa. They might belong to Simuka-Sātavāhana or Śātakarṇi I.[3]

It appears that the period of about a century intervening the death of Śātakarṇi I and the accession of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi around the beginning of the second century A.D. witnessed a temporary eclipse of the Sātavāhana power. This was due to the encroachment of the Śakas of East Iran, who had settled in the valley of the Indus before the end of the first century B.C.[4] The author of the *Periplus* (c. 80-82 A.D.) mentions the District of Scythia in the lower valley of the Indus and its capital Minnagara which was then under the Parthian occupation.[5] The same author also refers to a powerful king, named Mambarus, who had his capital at another Minnagara and was probably a Scythian.[6] With the present state of our knowledge it is, however, difficult to determine whether any part of Malwa included the kingdom of Mambarus. But the family of Mambarus appears to have been originally subordinate to the Śaka emperors, and later to the Parthians and then to the Kuṣāṇas.[7]

It is not definitively known how far the Kuṣāṇa influence was extended to the south of Mathurā and Benaras, both of which formed parts of Kaṇiṣka I's empire.[8] But the inscription of Vaṣkuṣāṇa

1. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 186 ff.
2. Lüders's List of Inscriptions, p. 346; *N.I.A.* (F. W. Thomas vol.) pp. 291, ff.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 69.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
5. *The Periplus*, p. 37.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
7. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 76.
8. Cf. The Mathura Image (101 A.D.) and Sarnath (81 A.D.) image inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka I, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 136 ff, 146 ff.

of the year 22 (100 A.D.)[1] found at Sāñcī, possibly indicates that the Kuṣāṇa hegemony was established in that region even at the time of Kaṇiṣka I, who reigned at least upto the years 23. The discovery of the Sāñcī image inscription of the year 28 (106 A.D.) of Vāsiṣka[2] also proves the continued Kuṣāṇa occupation of East Malwa.[3] It may be mentioned, however, that the *Ṛgya-gar-Cos-ḥbyuṅ* of Lāmā Tāranātha associates one King Kanika, ruler of Ṭili and Mālava, perhaps with the Ākara region, where 'twenty eight diamond mines have been recently discovered'.[4] Although attempts are now being made to identify this Kanika with Kaṇiṣka I of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty,[5] Tāranātha himself distinguished Kanika from Kaṇiṣka I.[6] It has, however, been pointed out by Sircar that the South-Western part of the Kuṣāṇa empire including Malwa was ruled by the viceroys of Śaka nationality. The ruling family represented by Mambarus probably offered allegiance to Kaṇiṣka I. It is not known whether the Kṣaharātas, who apparently belonged to the Scythian stock and ruled over Western India as Satraps of Kaṇiṣka I and his successors, were members of the family of Mambarus.

1. H. Hamid, R. C. Kak and R. P. Chanda, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 29-30.
2. J. Marshall, A. Foucher and N. G. Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, Calcutta, p. 278.
3. Ray Choudhuri (*P.H.A.I.*, p. 476n) thinks that the Sāñchī images might have been brought from Mathurā, so that their findspot cannot be regarded as forming a part of the empire of the king mentioned on the pedestals.
4. A Schiefner, *Tāranāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersberg, 1869 (translation), pp. 89-90. The name *Ākara* which literally means 'mine', is known to have been mentioned for the first time in the Nasik Inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60) and the Junagadh record of the 72 of Rudradāman I (*Ibid.*, p. 60). Ākara has been identified with the Eastern Malwa region.
5. The word Kanika is philologically related to the word Kaṇiṣka. cf. R. Tarner, *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, p. 136; H. W. Baily, 'Kaṇiṣka' in the *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. by A. L. Basham, Leiden, 1969, p. 37. See also B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 22 ff.; and *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pp. 49-50.
6. A Schiefner, op. cit., pp. 90-92. The *Dpag Bsam Ljon Bzang* of Sumpa Khan-po (ed. by S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1908) also distinguishes Kanika from Kaṇiṣka I (S. C. Das (ed.) op. cit., pp. 82-83 and 91).

During the weak rule of the successors of Kaṇiṣka I, these Śakas gradually began to rule almost independently.

Bhūmaka was the earliest Kṣaharāta Satrap, who was placed in charge of the south-western part of the Kuṣāṇa empire. Bhūmaka's association with West India including Malwa has been proved by the evidence of coins.[1] He seems to have been succeeded by another Satrap named Nahapāna belonging to the same Kṣaharāta family. Nahapāna is known to have reigned between 119 and 124 A.D., and it appears from a number of his coins and inscriptions that he had been ruling almost independently over a vast region. His dominions comprised wide areas including Malwa. His kingdom undoubtedly included Western Malwa, since places like Daśapura (Mandasor in West Malwa), Ujeni (Ujjain) and rivers like Tāpī and others figure in his inscriptions[2]. The case of East Malwa is not certain, but Sircar[3] points out the probabilities of Nahapāna's rule over that region. The Puranic chroniclers describe a Nāga king of Vidiśā of about the third century A.D. as the second Nākhavat (i.e. Nahapāna).[4] It shows the great impression Nahapāna had created on the people.

About the close of the first quarter of the second century A.D., Nahapāna was defeated and killed by the Sātavāhana King, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who, thus, succeeded in recovering the northern territories of the old Sātavāhana empire.[5] According to a Nasik Inscription,[6] among the countries that were under the rule of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi Anūpa (the Nimar area on the Narmadā), Ākara (East Malava) and Avanti (West Malava), which fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the present Madhya Pradesh, were apparently conquered from Nahapāna. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is also described as the

1. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 63-64.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 85; Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 1 viii.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 79.
4. Pargiter, *op. cit*, p. 49.
5. Cf. Jinadāsagaṇin's (C. 7th Cent. A.D.) Commentary on a *Gāthā* of the *Āvaśyakasūtraniryukti* (of Bhadrabāhu), which refers to the Sātavāhana occupations of Nahapāna's territory, *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVI, p. 288; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 197; also the Jogalthembi hoard (Nasik), see Rapson, *op. cit*, pp. 68-70; for the Nasik inscription of Gautamī-putra Śātakarṇi (18th yr.) see *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 191 ff.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 203 ff.

lord of the Vindhya (Central and Eastern Vindhya, and Satpura), Ṛkṣavat (part of the Vindhyan range to the South of Malwa), Pāriyātra (Western Vindhyas and the Aravalli) and other mountain ranges.[1]

Gautamīputra, however, seems to have enjoyed his victory over the Kṣaharātas only for a few years. He died at about 130 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi. But, before his death, he seems to have lost most of the territories he had conquered from the Kṣaharātas to another line of Scythian rulers known as the Kārdamakas.[2] Sircar thinks that, in the south-western province of their empire, the Kuṣāṇa emperors appointed the Kārdamakas as the successors of the Kṣaharātas on the latter's extirpation by the Sātavāhana king.[3]

The Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I (150 A. D.) tells that the Śakas (i.e. the Kardamaka rulers) reconquered no fewer than six countries[4] from the Sātavāhanas, which included the Ākara-Avanti-Anūpa regions. These conquests, according to some,[5] were probably made when Rudradāman was a Kṣatrapa under his grandfather Caṣṭana who was the viceroy of the south-eastern province of the Kuṣāṇa empire. The same inscription also tells that Rudradāman defeated Śātakarni of the Deccan twice, but did not destroy him on account of their close relationship.[6]

Thus, it appears from the inscriptional evidence that both

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. Cf. The Andhau inscription of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I; *ibid*, pp. 174 ff. An inscription of Caṣṭana dated in the year II has been found recently at Andhau, see *J.A.I.H.*, vol. II 1968-69, pp. 104 ff.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 83.
4. Cf. The Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I (150 A.D.), line II, see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 178n. The six countries are Ākara (E. Malwa, capital Vidiśā), Avanti (West Malwa, capital Ujjayinī), Anūpa realm (capital Māhiṣmatī-mod. Maheswar, or Māndhātā in the Nimar District), Surāṣṭra (South Kathiawar, capital Girinagara), Kukura (North Kathiawar near Ānartta), and Aparānta (the North Konkan, capital Surpāraka). For detailed account of the Kārdamaka conquests see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 178, note 4.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 86-7.
6. Cf. line 12; The Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I; also Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription, see *Arch. Surv. West India*, vol. V, p. 78 and Lüders's No. 994.

East and West Malwa became an integral part of Rudradāman's kingdom.

The city of Ujjayinī, which was the headquarters of the Kārdamaka became a great seat of learning under the patronage of the Kārdamaka kings.

It is possible that the present Berar and the Eastern Madhya Pradesh were conquered by the Sātavāhanas during the rule of one of the immediate successors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, probably Yajña Śātakarṇi himself.[1] The fact that a few silver coins of Yajña Śātakarṇi were imitations of the Śaka coinage led scholars to believe that the said Sātavāhana king deprived the Kārdamakas of some of the southern regions of their dominions[2] around the close of the second century A.D.

Since Yajña was the Sātavāhana contemporary of Nāgārjuna, he, might be the Sātavāhana king who is mentioned in Hiuen-Tsang's *Si-yu-ki*[3], and also in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[4] as the ruler of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala in the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh. It seems possible that both *Mahākṣatrapa* Īśvaradatta and Yajña exploited the situation arising out of the feud between Rudrasiṁha I and Jīvadāman of the Kārdamaka family.[5]

The Sātavāhana rule in South Kośala is evidenced by the discovery of a copper coin of King Śivasrī Āpīlaka in Chhattisgarh. Some writers ascribe this coin to a date earlier than Gautamīputra, while others refer it to the period of the later Sātavāhanas.[6]

The successors of Yajña Śātakarṇi seem to have continued to rule up to the third century A.D. when the Sātavāhana authority was supplanted by the Ikṣvākus, Ābhīras and Vākāṭakas in the south, north-west and north, respectively.[7]

A number of lead coins bearing a three-arched hill with the legends *Bodhi* or *Śrī-Bodhi*, *Śivabodhi*, *Candrabodhi* and

1. See *A.I.U.*, pp. 209-210.
2. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. XC.
3. Watters, *On Yuan Chewang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 200 (cf. Sha-to-p'o-ha=Sātavāha (na)).
4. *Harṣacarita*, ed. Parab, pp. 250-51.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 93.
6. *A. I. U.*, *loc. cit.*
7. *Loc. cit.*

Vīrabodhidatta are known and their weights vary from 4 to 8 grains[1]. The issuers were probably the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the late second or the third century A.D.[2]

The Kārdamaka Śakas, however, continued to rule in this part of India with Ujjayinī as their capital, and are said to have contracted matrimonial alliances with a number of ruling families in India.[3]

During the first half of the fourth century A.D., the Guptas consolidated their position and made their power felt in different parts of India. Among the rulers of Āryāvartta[4] who were defeated by Samudragupta, Rudradeva has been identified by Sircar[5] with the Śaka king Rudrasena III (348-78 A.D.) of Ujjain. Rudrasena III succeeded in asserting his independence after a period of 13 years (from 351 A.D. to 364 A.D.)[6] but he was not powerful enough to issue coins. Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena who were extirpated by Samudragupta, ruled from Padmāvatī (modern Pawaya or Padampawaya) near Narwar on the Sindh river, between Gwalior and Jhansi.[7] Among the republican States[8] that offered allegiance to the Gupta Emperor, the Mālavas possibly lived in Rajasthan and parts of Malwa, the Prārjunas in the Narsingpur (Narsimhapur) District, the Sanakānīkas in East Malwa, and the Kākas in the Kākanādaboṭa (Sāñcī) region.

Samudragupta also subdued the forest kingdoms[9] about Ḍabhālā (the Jabalpur District). His Eran inscription testifies

1. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 51. See also E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg. 1898; and D.C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*. Calcutta, 1939.
2. The discovery of a large number of the "Bodhi" coins in the recent excavations in the Tripurī (modern Tewar) region led scholars to believe that the 'Bodhis' supplanted the Sātavāhanas in the Tripurī and adjoining regions (cf. K.D. Bajpai's paper presented at the Seminar of the Numismatic Society of India, held at Lucknow in 1968; also A. M. Shastri in the *J.N.S.I.* Vol. XXXIV, 1972, pp. 211-22.
3. Sircar in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. I, 1967-68, pp. 92-93.
4. Cf. Allahabad *Praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa, Line 21, see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 265.
5. Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 42.
6. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cxlv.; also *Proc. I.H.C.*, Madras, 1944, pp. 78ff.
7. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 536.
8. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 265-66 and notes.
9. Cf. Allahabad *praśasti*, *C.I.I.*, vol. III, pp. 6 ff.

to his conquest of East Malwa. The political disturbances that occurred during the reign of Rudrasena III, suggested by the numismatic evidence,[1] may have been the result of the crsuhing defeat that the Gupta emperor inflicted on the Śaka King. Probably Samudragupta annexed the eastern part of the Śaka dominions, but kept Rudrasena III in possession of the western districts as his feudatory.[2]

Again, as to his South Indian conquests we find the names of the regions like Kośala and Mahākāntāra which may be located in Madhya Pradesh. Kośala i.e. the South Kośala was comprised of the modern Bilaspur and Raipur Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the Sambalpur District of Orissa. Mahākāntāra (which is the same as Kāntāra of the *Mahābhārata*)[3] included a wild tract between the valley of the Wainganga and Eastern Kośala.[4]

The evidence of the *Devīcandragupta* of Viśākhadatta led some scholars to think of the possibility of a short reign of Rāmagupta before Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.), while others are dubious about Rāmagupta's rule from the Gupta throne. The former hailed the evidence of some copper coins bearing the name of Rāmagupta and also three inscriptions calling one Rāmagupta *Mahārājādhirāja* as establishing Rāmagupta's rule from the Imperial Gupta throne[5]. The latter, on the other hand, regarded Rāmagupta of the coins and inscriptions which were discovered from the Eran-Vidiśha region, as a local ruler of East Malwa. Further, they hold that Rāmagupta of the inscriptions, unlike the Bhāgavata Imperial Gupta rulers, was a Jaina[6]. So until further conclusive evidences come to our notice, it may not be wise to believe what Viśākhadatta has said by way of creating dramatical suspense.

1. Rapson, *loc. cit.*
2. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 101.
3. *Mahābhārata*, II, 31, 12-13.
4. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 538-39.
5. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 340 ff.
6. *A.M.V.T.* pp. 138 ff. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, *pp.* 161 ff. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 222-3, A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 162 ff. See also D.C. Sircar's Indological Notes in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* Vol. III, pp. 145 ff.

About the close of the fourth century A.D., the Śaka King, Rudrasiṁha III, or one of his successors was overthrown by Samudragupta's son and successor, Candragupta II Vikramāditya (C. 376-413 A.D.) who annexed the rest of the Śaka dominions (i.e. West Malwa) to the Gupta Empire. This is suggested by the inscriptions and coins of the Gupta emperor.[1] It appears that Candragupta II's son, Govindagupta, was placed at Ujjayinī (Ujjain) as the Viceroy of Western India probably comprising Malwa, Gujarat (including Kathiawar) and Rajasthan.[2]

After the extinction of the Śakas, the Aulikaras, probably a clan of the Mālava tribe, flourished at Daśapura (modern Mandasor in West Malwa) under the vassalage of the Gupta emperors. The Aulikara Kings used the *Kṛta-krīta* or Mālava era (later known as the Vikrama era) of 58 B.C. in preference to the era of the Guptas starting from 320 A.D. According to Sircar,[3] the Mālavas gave the name to a wide region of Central and Western India including Avanti (District round Ujjayinī), and Ākara or Daśārṇa (District round Vidiśā), although Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* mentions West Malwa as Avanti and only East Malwa as Mālava. The *Harṣacarita*, on the other hand, mentions Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, the sons of King Mahāsenagupta of East Malwa, as *Mālavarājaputra*, and Devagupta, the usurper of Mahāsenagupta's throne as *Mālavarāja*.[4] Avanti as Mālava was not, however, popular before the Paramāra occupation of that region in the second half of the tenth century A.D.[5] The application of the name of Mālava to

1. The invasion against the Śaka kingdom began before 401 A.D. as indicated in the Udayagiri Cave inscription, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 279 ff. The rare Silver Coins of Candragupta II are more directly imitated from the Śaka coins of the western fabric, see Allan's *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.
2. Cf. The Mandasor inscription of Prabhākara (467 A.D.), *Sel. Ins.* pp. 279 ff.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 12.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 295-96 notes.
5. *D.H.N.I.*, vol. II, pp. 850-51; see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff. The Paramāra King Sindhurāja (997-1000 A.D.), son of Harṣa and younger brother of Vākpati II Muñja, assumed a name of the traditional Śakāri Vikramāditya of Mālava; *A.M.V.T.*, p. 18.

East Malwa might have been popularised by the so-called 'Later Guptas'.[1]

The Aulikara inscriptions[2] from Mandasor and neighbourhood indicate that the family rose to fame during the reign of Naravarman (C. 404-417 A.D.) who was succeeded by Viśvavarman (423 A.D.), while the latter's son and successor Bandhuvarman is known to have ruled from Daśapura in the year 493 (i.e. 436 A.D.) as a vassal of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (C.413-455 A.D.). The next king is Prabhākara (467 A.D.) whose relationship with Bandhuvarman is not known. From Prabhākara's inscription, it appears, however, that the Aulikara kingdom once formed part of the territories governed by Govindagupta, a son of Candragupta II, with headquarters possibly at Ujjayinī.

The later Aulikara rulers like Ādityavardhana[3] and Dravyavardhana[4] also ruled in West Malwa before the expansion of the Hūṇa power to that area. It is likely that about this time the Hūṇas were already in occupation of East Malwa from where they have succeeded in extending their authority towards the West.[5]

It may be noted in this connection that the Allahabad *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa does not refer to the Vākāṭakas, who held sway over parts of the Deccan and Madhya Pradesh between the fall of the Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Cālukyas about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Some scholars[6] hold that Pṛthivīṣeṇa I Vākāṭaka, possibly, a contemporary of Samudragupta and also of Candragupta II, extended his political influence over a fairly wide territory, and the Nach-ne-kītalāi and Ganj regions were most probably ruled by his vassal Vyāghradeva. For immediately after Pṛthivīṣeṇa I down to 528 A.D., the princes of these localities owned the sway of the Gupta empire.[7] Sircar once held this view, but after a close paleographical study,

1. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 12.
2. For the Aulikara Inscriptions see *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 299 ff., 397 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, vols. XXVI, 131ff., XXVII, 126 ff., XXX, 127 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 120 ff.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, *Loc. cit.*
6. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 234; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 541; *C.A.*, p. 179n.
7. *P.H.A.I.*, *Loc. cit.*

he now holds that Vyāghra of the said inscriptions was a feudatory of Pṛthivīṣeṇa II who flourished in the sixth century A.D. He further suggests that the Vākāṭakas appeared to have ousted the Gupta rule from Bundelkhand (the Western Rewa Division) about the close of the fifth century A.D.[1]

About this time, the Gupta rule was also ousted from East Malwa by the Hūṇas, as indicated by the Eran inscription of Toramāṇa[2] and the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula.[3] A Mandasor inscription[4] further suggests that the Aulikaras and some other rulers of Western India had soon to submit to the Hūṇas. According to the testimony of Somadeva, a contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.), Citrakūṭa once fell to the Hūṇas.[5] This Citrakūṭa is, possibly, the famous Citrakūṭa on the Mandākinī in Madhya Pradesh, where Rāma lived for a short time during his exile.[6] An inscription mentioned Hūṇa-maṇḍala as being situated in the Malwa region.[7]

In 510-11 A.D., we find a general, named Goparāja fighting by the side of a Gupta King at Eran.[8] The Parivrājaka kings of the province of Ḍabhālā acknowledged the sovereignty of the Guptas.[9] The Betul plates of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṁkṣobha (518 A.D.) testify to the Gupta sway in the Ḍabhālā region which included the Tripurī-Viṣaya (Jabalpur region).[10]

Another inscription of Saṁkṣobha found in the valley near the village of Khoh in Baghelkhand (the Eastern Rewa Division)

1. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 456n.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 419, verse 4; it refers to the claim of Yaśodharman conquering more territories than what the Gupta and Hūṇa Kings had done. This shows that his sovereignty in the Malwa region followed that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas.
5. *Bhandarkar Commemorative volume*, p. 216.
6. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 629 note 1; the Citrakūṭa is also sometimes identified with Citorgarh in Rajasthan.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, p. 102.
8. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 345 ff.
9. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 595.
10. Cf. *Śrīmati Pravardhamāna-Vijayarājye saṁvatsare śate nava-navatyuttare Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau*····· ; see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 284-87.

dated 528 A.D., proves that the Gupta empire included some of the Central districts even at that time.[1] The Aulikara king, Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana of West Malwa, one of whose records is dated 532 A.D. (Vikrama 589), represents himself as enjoying the imperial title *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara*, drove the Hūṇa King Mihirakula to the latter's northern possessions in the Punjab-Kashmir region.[2]

Since no records of Yaśodharman's successors have so far been discovered nothing can be said about the fall of the Aulikara Kingdom. It is, however, difficult to say whether the family was ousted for a short time by the line of Kings of East Malwa, who were generally called 'the Later Guptas'. The first known member of the 'Later Gupta' family was Kṛṣṇagupta.[3] It appears that Jīvitagupta I was the first independent ruler of the family that previously owed allegiance possibly to the Imperial Guptas and the Hūṇas. His son and successor Kumāragupta defeated the Maukhari king Īśānavarman who also threw off the yoke of the Imperial Guptas at about 554 A.D. Kumāragupta advanced up to Prayāga, where he committed religious suicide. But Kumāragupta's son Dāmodaragupta, died in an encounter with Īśānavarman Maukhari (of Haraha inscription of 554 A.D.).[4] This possibly led to an expansion of Maukhari power towards Malwa. The Bundelkhand region (the Western Rewa Division) formed part of the Maukhari empire after Īśānavarman.[5] Dāmodaragupta's son and successor was Mahāsenagupta whose throne seems to have been occupied by Devagupta when Mahāsenagupta's two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhvagupta took shelter in the court of Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśvar. Prabhākaravardhana's son-in-law Grahavarman of the Maukhari family was defeated and killed by the forces of Devagupta and Śaśāṅka, the King of Gauḍa. Rājyavardhana, the son and successor of Prabhākaravardhana, hastened to help the Maukharis, but

1. *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 113-16; Hoernle in *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, and *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 394 ff.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 411 ff., pp. 419-20.
3. Cf. The Aphsad Inscription, see *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 200 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, No. 5.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 15.

was killed by Śaśāṅka, even though he had succeeded in crushing the Mālava army under Devagupta.[1]

Harṣavardhana, brother of Rājyavardhana, came to the throne of Thāneśvar in 606 A.D., and fought against Devagupta and Śaśāṅka. He succeeded in driving out the enemies from the present Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and became the master of former Maukhari Kingdom.[2]

When Devagupta was engaged in struggle first with the Maukharis and then with the Puṣyabhūtis, a few subordinate families of the Guhila clan began to rule in Mewar and the adjoining regions, and the Kalacuris[3] of the Narmadā Valley were in possession of Northern Maharashtra in the south and Western Malwa in the north, though they soon occupied East Malwa. They used the Kalacuri era of 248-49 A.D.[4] The Abhona plates[5] of Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa (Kalacuri 347-595 A.D.) were issued from his victorious camp at Ujjayinī (Ujjain), while the Vadner plates[6] were issued in 608 A.D. (Kalacuri 360) by Śaṅkaragaṇa's son, Buddharāja, from Vaidiśa (i.e. Vidiśā near the present Vidisha).

Towards the end of the sixth century A.D. the Cālukyas of Bādāmi attacked the kingdom of the Kalacuris from the south,

1. Cf. the *Harṣacarita*, its commentary, and Hiuen Tsang's accounts; according to these sources Rājyavardhana was treacherously murdered; Cf. Shivaji and the Mughal general Afzal Khān and Alīvardī Khān and the Maratha General Bhāskar Paṇḍit incidents in history.
2. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 16.
3. The earlier forms of the dynastic name Kalacuri were Kaṭaccuri, Kalatsūri, Kalacuti, Kalaccuri, Kaḷacurya and Kalicuri (*C. A.* p. 190). It was possibly a non-sanskrit word, and may be equated with the Turkish word *Kulchur* indicating an office of high rank (*Proc. I.H.C.*, 1943, p. 44). Sircar thinks that the Kalacuris were foreigners who probably entered India in the train of the Hūṇas and Gurjjaras. They had settled in the Anūpa country on the Narmadā, later on claimed to have been descended from the Haihaya King Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya and ruler of Māhiṣmatī (*C.A.*, pp. 190-1).
4. According to Sircar Mahārāja Subandhu (of the Barawani grant of 486 A.D.) and other kings, viz., Svāmidāsa (386 A.D.), Bhaluṇḍa (426 A.D.), and Rudradāsa (436 A.D.), used the Gupta Era in their records. Mirashi, on the other hand, refers all these dates to the era of 248-9 A.D. For different views see *C.A.*, *loc. cit.*; *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff; *I.H.Q.*, vols. XXI, p. 80, XXII, p. 64, XXIII, p. 156 and XXIV, p. 75.
5. Bhandarkar's *List*, no. 1206.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 1207.

while the Gurjjaras gained strength in the Broach region. During this period, West Malwa must have passed to the Maitrakas from the Kalacuris. Thus the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[1] speaks of the rule of Maitraka Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya (605-09 A.D.), at Ujjayinī, while his younger brother and successor, Khara-graha I, is known to have issued his Virdi plates[2] from Ujjayinī in Gupta-Valabhī 297 (616-17 A.D.).

According to Sircar,[3] the Kalacuris might have been ousted from East Malwa by Harṣavardhana who is known to have led a successful expedition against the Maitraka king of Valabhī in Kathiawar, and an unsuccessful one apparently in Southern Gujarat against the Cālukya King, Pulakeśin II (610-42 A.D.) before 634 A.D. Harṣa's presence in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region presupposes his occupation at least of parts of Malwa and Rajasthan. But his political influence was ousted from the Gujarat-Kathiawar region before 645 A.D. and the Maitraka king Dharasena IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (629-43 A.D.) who was Harṣa's subordinate ally, assumed the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Cakravartin* as early as the Gupta-Valabhī year 326 (645 A.D.) which is the earliest date known from his records.[4] Harṣa died sometime in 647 A.D. The Kalacuris are found to have risen again to power in Eastern M. P., a few centuries later.

Towards the close of the eighth century, the Gurjjara-Pratīhāras of Rajasthan, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, and the Pālas of the East India began their three cornered struggle for paramountcy.[5] The Gurjjara-Pratīhāras came into prominence in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. by the

1. Jayswal, *Imperial History of India*, text, p. 43 verses 586-87.
2. Cf. *Proc. A.I.O.C.*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 659-76; and A.S. Gadre, *Important inscriptions from Baroda State*, vol. I, pp. 7ff.
3. Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, pp. 44-48.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 282-83.
5. Recently, in an article D. C. Sircar opines that though this struggle represented as a tripartite contest among the Pālas, Gurjjara Pratīhāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas for the purpose of occupying Kanauj, it was in fact quadripartite considering the participation of the Āyudhas of Kanauj, and the mention of the Āyudha monarch in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* side by side with the Gurjjara-Pratīhāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff.

successful resistance they offered under Nāgabhaṭa I to the Arabs.[1] From the verse 9 of the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, it appears that Dantidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, captured Ujjayinī and reduced a Gūrjara ruler[2] to a subordinate rank.

Vatsarāja, son of a nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I, became a powerful ruler. Two Jaina works, *Kuvalayamālā* and the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, prove that Vatsarāja's kingdom comprised both Malwa and Rajasthan.[3] The Gwalior *praśasti*[4] also refers to the extent of Vatsarāja's empire. He, however, suffered a defeat at the hands of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva and had to take refuge in the 'trackless desert' of Rajasthan.

Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family. The Gwalior *praśasti* indicates that he defeated Cakrāyudha and the lord of Vaṅga, and forcibly seized the hill-forts of the kings of Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya.

According to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, Nāgabhaṭa II was defeated by Govinda III who overran his dominions and reached the Himālayas. But Nāgabhaṭa's power was not completely destroyed. It appears that his sway over Rajasthan and Kathiawar continued,[5] and in the east it extended upto Kanauj and Kālañjara,[6] and probably upto the border of Bihar. He is said to have transferred his capital to Kanauj.

The next Pratīhāra king Rāmabhadra had a brief period of reign. He was succeeded by his illustrious son, Bhoja I, who held over a mighty empire in Northern India right from the Sutlej and the foothills of the Himālayas to the Narmadā.[7]

1. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, No. 17.
2. Cf. *Hiraṇya-garbhaṁ rājanyair-Ujjayinyāṁ yadāsitam / Pratīhārikṛtaṁ Yena Gurjjareśādi -rājakam ||9||*. The Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, Śaka 793; see *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, No. 26.
3. B. N. Puri, *The Gurjjara-Pratīhāras*, p. 39; also *A.I.K.*, p. 22.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, No. 17.
5. *A.I.K.*, p. 26.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 15.
7. The Barah C.P. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 15, XXIII, p. 242) and Daulatpura C.P. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 208) of Bhoja show that he had occupied Kanauj and recovered Kālañjara maṇḍala by 836 A.D., and Gurjaratrā, his ancestral territories in Rajputana (Rajasthan) by 843 A.D.

Bhoja's successor, Mahendrapāla I, not only maintained the vast empire inherited by him, but also further expanded it towards the east. Several of his records have been found in South Bihar and North Bengal with dates ranging from years 2 to 15.[1]

According to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record,[2] Indra III crossed the Yamunā, and completely devastated the city of Kanauj during the reign of Mahīpāla I. But, as on previous occasions, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas did not stay long, and Mahīpāla I re-established the fortunes of his family. The success in Malwa is hinted at by the claim made by Bhāmāna, the feudatory Kalacuri chief of Gorakhpur, that he conquered Dhārā.[3]

The decline of the Imperial Pratīhāra power gave opportunity to many of the clans and the feudatory chiefs, like the Candellas of Jejākabhukti, the Haihayas of Dāhala (Ḍabhālā), the Paramāras of Malwa, and so forth, to assert their virtual independence.

The Paramāra King Vākpati II Muñja is known to have made Ujjayinī his residence as early as 975 A.D. which is the date of his Dharampuri plates.[4] Paramāra Vākpati I, the great-grandfather of Muñja, was undoubtedly a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and was the governor of Kheṭaka (modern Kaira) in Gujarat.[5] This very area was called Mālava by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A.D.[6] Sircar thinks that Vākpati I also ruled over part of West Malwa as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Another Pratīhāra record (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p.174) refers to his occupation of Malwa by defeating Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II on the banks of the Narmadā.

1. The recently discovered Mahisantosh Image inscription of Mahendrapāla I (year 15) definitely suggested the continued hold of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra monarch over wide areas of Bihar and Bengal as late as the 18th year of his reign i.e. down to about 900 A.D. See Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff. The year of the Bihar Sheriff Inscription of Mahendrapāla I has been read differently i.e. 19, 9, 6. See Bhandarkar's list No. 1644. See also R.D. Banerjee's 'the Pālas of Bengal' in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1915 p. 64.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 38.
3. Cf. The Kahla C.P. of Kalacuri Soḍhadeva; see *Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, pp. 236ff; *D.H.N.I.*, vol. II, p. 850-51.
6. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 18.

Harṣa Sīyaka, grandson of Vākpati I and the father of Vākpati II, claims to have defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga (968-73 A.D.).[1] He was known as the king of Mālava or of the Mālavas.[2]

It is, of course, not known whether the Paramāra power extended to the present Malwa tract before the days of Vākpati II. It is, nevertheless, during the rule of these Paramāras that Mālava came to be the most popular name of the ancient Avanti-Ākara (Daśārṇa) region.[3] The Paramāra King Sindhurāja (997-1000 A.D.), the younger brother of Vākpati II, assumed the title of Sāhasāṅka, and his son Bhoja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) popularised to a considerable extent the Vikramāditya Saga.[4]

With their capitals at Mahoba and Kālañjara the Candellas or Candrātreyas held sway over Bundelkhand (the West Rewa Division). The dynasty was founded by Nannuka in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. Epigraphic records connect the early kings of the family with Kharjūravāhaka, the modern village of Khajuraho, in the old Chhatarpur State. The Candellas became very powerful under Yaśovarman (C. 925 A.D.). The Khajuraho inscription[5] states that he was 'a scorching fire to the Gūrjjaras'. There Gūrjjaras are usually identified with the Gūrjjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj,[6] since in another verse of the record Yaśovarman has been described as the conqueror of the hill-fort of Kālañjara (*Kālañjarādri*), which is known to have been within the Gūrjjara-Pratīhāra empire.[7] But this does not seem to be correct in view of Dhaṅga's acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Gūrjjara-Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj as mentioned in the same inscription.

Another suggestion that Yaśovarman captured Kālañjara

1. *D.H.N.I.*, *loc. cit.*
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 295ff.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, *loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. Cf. The Khajuraho inscription, v. 23; see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 124ff.
6. *D.H.N.I.*, vol. II, p. 676.
7. Cf. The Barah C. P. inscription of Bhoja, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p.15.

(*kālañjarādri*) from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas[1] is not convincing either, since the name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas do not appear in the long list of Yaśovarman's adversaries as given in V. 23 of the same records. Sircar[2] therefore suggests that the Gurjjara adversaries of Yaśovarman represented a branch of the Gurjjara-Pratīhāra family that ruled over the Jhansi-Guna region. The existence of this branch which assumed independence with the decline of the imperial Gurjjara-Pratīhāras, is known mainly from three inscriptions.[3] Sircar thinks it possible that Kālañjara was conquered from these Gurjjara-Pratīhāras who soon afterwards became a subordinate ally of the Candellas.[4]

Again, Yaśovarman has been described as a God of Death to the Mālavas (*Kālavan-Mālavānām*). Ray rejects this claim on the ground of Malwa being still under the Gurjjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj.[5] It is generally held, however, that Paramāra Sīyaka II of Mālava was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. But there is no direct reference to the open conflict between the two. Yaśovarman is said to have brought distress to the shameful Cedis (*Sīdat-Sāvadya Cediḥ*). The Cedi King is identified with either Lakṣmaṇarāja or his predecessor, Yuvarāja I.[6] Ray considers him to be Bālaharṣa, the eldest son of Mugdhatuṅga.[7]

Dhaṅga (950-1000 A.D.), son and successor of Yaśovarman, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratīhāras at least in 954 A.D.,[8] when Gwalior, the Yamunā, Kālañjara, the

1. *D.H.N.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 674.
2. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 309-13.
3. (a) Bharatkala Bhavan plate of Harirāja, V.S. 1040 *Ep.Ind.*, *loc. cit.*
(b) The Chanderi (Guna Dist.) inscription of Nīlakaṇṭha and Harirāja, (not published, but in Bhandarkar's list No. 2107).
(c) Recently, another record of this family has been discovered from Kadwaha in the Guna District, Madhya Pradesh. See A fragmentary Stone inscription from Kadwaha by Mirashi and A. Shastri, Nagpur, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pt. III, pp. 117ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, *Loc. Cit.* Also See Pranab Kumar Bhattacharyya's *Saṁjvaro-Gurjjarāṇām* in *Itihās* (Bengali), 1378, Baisakh-Ashad, pp. 47.ff.
5. *D.H.N.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 676.
6. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 301.
7. *D.H.N.I.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 759-60.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 124ff, the inscription (Khajuraho) acknowledges the sovereignty of the Pratīhāra emperor Vināyakapāla.

northern border of the Jabalpur District, and Vidisha were the extreme limits of the Candella kingdom.[1] He obviously inherited this kingdom from his father. His feudatory Vajradāman of the Kacchapaghāta family invaded Gwalior and captured it before 977 A.D. It is claimed that Vajradāman conquered Gopagiri, defeating the king of Kanauj.[2] Dhaṅga also claims to have attained supreme lordship after inflicting a defeat over the King of Kānyakubja.[3]

Nizāmuddīn[4] and Firishta[5] refer to the assistance received by the Shāhi ruler from the different Indian States in order to intercept Sabuktigin near Lamghan. The list of the Indian States that rendered assistance to the Shāhi, viz., Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj, has been furnished only by Firishta. His being a late work, Firishta's account may not be considered very reliable, but the *Rājā* of Kalinjar (Kālañjara) referred to therein was undoubtedly Dhaṅga who might have sent some contingents in response to the call of Jayapāla.

The Kingdom of the Candellas was bordered on the south by that of the Kalacuris of Cedi. The Kalacuris are sometimes referred to as the Kings of the Ḍāhala-maṇḍala, whose capital was Tripurī, now a village known as Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. The earliest known king of the dynasty is Kokkala I (C. 880-910 A.D.)[6] who was considered to be one of the greatest generals of his time.[7]

Kokkala I made his younger sons the rulers of the different divisions of his kingdom. A descendant of one of them

1. *Ibid.*, Verse 45.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 36; *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XXXI, p. 393.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 197, 203.
4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 3.
5. *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta* (Briggs), I, p. 18.
6. Mirashi thinks that Lakṣmarāja was a predecessor of Kokkalla I, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 255.
7. Cf. The Bilahri (or, Bilhari) inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 264; The Amoda plates, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 306. For detailed discussions, see *I.H.Q.*, vol. XIII, pp. 482ff. R.C. Majumdar, however, gives a different view on the subject, see *Proc. I.H.C.*, vol. XII, pp. 123ff; although he accepted the statement of the Amoda plates as to exploits of Kokkalla I as true, *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 196.

founded a kingdom in Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, with the capital at Tummāṇa.[1]

Śaṅkaragaṇa succeeded his father Kokkalla I and fought against a Somavaṁśī ruler of Kośala and conquered Pālī, 12 miles north-west of Ratanpur, in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh.[2] He made an alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa II, against the Eastern Cālukya King Vijayāditya III, but was defeated with great loss.[3] He was succeeded by his younger brother, Yuvarāja I, in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. He inherited the military skill of his father and grandfather, and made extensive conquests. According to some, Candella Yaśovarman came into conflict with him and defeated him.[4] At the fag end of his reign, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III conquered the heart of the Kalacuri Kingdom.[5] According to D.C. Ganguly, Yuvarāja I, conquered Ḍāhala before his death.[6]

Lakṣmaṇarāja succeeded his father Yuvarāja I in the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. He also pursued the traditional expansionist policy of his predecessors.[7]

It is interesting that the history of Madhya Pradesh during this and the succeeding periods is the history of alliances and dissensions among the various powers, which lasted till the early days of Muslim Invasions. The Paramāras, Candellas, Kalacuris, and Calukyas of Gujarat 'waged war against one another, gaining temporary advantage each in turn, but exhausting their own resources and smoothing the way for the advance of the Muhammadans'.[8]

When Mahmūd of Gazanī commenced his raids, he had to fight against the Hindu Rajputs. In his fourth expedition (1008 A.D.), Mahmūd was opposed by Ānandapāla Shāhi

1. *A.I.K.*, p. 88.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Cf. The Maliyapundi grant of Amma II, *A.I.K. loc. cit.*; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 47.
4. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, p. LXXXIII.
5. Cf. The Karhad inscription of 959 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 278; The Jura (in old Maihar State) inscription (undated), *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 287.
6. *A.I.K.*, pp. 89-90.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
8. *I.G.I.*, vol. IX, pp. 334-47.

on the bank of a river near Waihind (Udabhāṇḍa). According to Firishta,[1] most of the kings of Northern India despatched, on the appeal of Ānandapāla, big contingents to his aid. Though his account is somewhat exaggerated, the account of Utbi, leaves no doubt about some organised movement.[2] According to Ray[3] the ruler of Kalinjar (i.e. Kālañjara) was Dhaṅga; but Smith[4] thinks he was Gaṇḍa, son and successor of Dhaṅga.

It is to be noted that the Candellas did not have to face the Turki onslaught till 1019 A.D., when Vidyādhara, a grandson of Dhaṅga, the former ruler of Kalinjar, was on the Candella throne. According to Firishta, Nizāmuddīn and others, Mahmūd came to India in 410 A.H. (1019 A.D.) on the plea of punishing 'Nandā' of Khajuraho for killing the Pratīhāra Rājyapāla of Kanauj for his surrender to Mahmūd in 1018 A.D. Scholars in general, accept 'Nandā' as a misreading for 'Gaṇḍa'.[5] But Ray points out that Ibnul Āthir's Bīdā who killed Rājyapāla of Kanauj is a corruption of Vidyādhara, and 'Nandā' of Utbi, Nizāmuddīn, and Firishta was nothing but a misreading for 'Bīdā' (Vidyādhara) and not for 'Gaṇḍa'. Therefore, Gaṇḍa must have ceased to rule before 1018 A.D.

The Candella ruler, it is said, was greatly alarmed at the advent of the Muslim forces 'fled with some of his baggage and equipments' under the cover of darkness.[6] But it has been suggested that owing to the tactical move of Bīdā, the Sultān had to return to Ghaznī achieving a partial victory.[7] In 1022 A.D., Mahmūd again invaded the Candella territory. However, after obtaining a nominal submission of the *Rājā* of Gwalior, the Sultān proceeded to invade Kālañjara. But like the Gwalior fort, Kālañjara also could not be stormed by Mahmūd.[8] Rather a friendly relation was established

1. *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta* (Briggs), I, p. 46.
2. S.K. Mitra, *The Early rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 68.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 683.
5. Smith in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 142.
4. *A.S.R.*, vol. II, p. 42; *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, p. 11; *Ind. Ant.*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
6. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 464.
7. S.K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

between the two rivals.[1] It may be that the Sultān's invasion of Kālañjara 'was not a great success, and possibly a failure'.[2]

Vidyādhara fought successfully against Paramāra Bhoja, and Kalacuri-Candra, possibly Kokkalla II of Tripurī. Kacchapaghāta Arjuna was a subordinate of Vidyādhara, though Arjuna's son, Abhimanyu, possibly, became a subservient of Bhoja Paramāra after the death of Vidyādhara.[3] Vidyādhara's son and successor, Vijayapāla won a victory over Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva (C. 1019-41 A.D.).[4]

In the early part of Candella Kīrttivarman's (C. 1073 A.D.,) reign, Kalacuri Karṇa occupied the Candella kingdom.[5] But later with the help of a subordinate ally, named Gopāla, Kīrttivarman reconquered his lost territories.[6] About 1090 A.D. he successfully fought against Mahmūd, the Governor of the Punjab under the Gaznavids who invaded Kālañjara.[7]

The next Candella ruler, Sallakṣaṇavarman, plundered Mālava after defeating Paramāra Naravarman and won a victory over a Cedi king, probably Yaśaḥkarṇa, whose capital Tripurī was also plundered by Paramāra Lakṣmadeva.[8] Sallakṣaṇavarman possibly occupied Antarvedī (between the Ganges and the Jumuna) after crushing the Gāhaḍavālas who aggrandised themselves at the cost of the Kalacuris.[9]

During the rule of Madanavarman (C. 1129-63 A.D.) the Candella kingdom included Vidisha, Mau in the Jhansi District, Ajaigarh, 20 miles south-west of Kālañjara, and Chhatarpur, besides Khajuraho, Mahoba and Kālañjara, as known from his inscriptions.[10] It appears that, by defeating Paramāra

1. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 170; and *Rahat-us-Sudur*, ed. by Md. Iqbal, p. 103.
2. *S. E.*, p. 18.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 870.
4. *S. E.*, p. 58.
5. For Karṇa's conquests, see *S. E.*, pp. 62-63; *D.H.N.I.*, *op. cit.*, ch. XII.
6. *S.E.*, p. 58.
7. Cf. The Deogarh Rock inscription, V.S. 1154, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 237.
8. *S. E.*, p. 64.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. Madanavarman's records;
   (a) Augasi C.P. Ins., V.S. 1190, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, 202.
   (b) Mau Stone ins., *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, 195.

Yaśovarman, he annexed Vidisha which was, however, conquered by Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra. He defeated the Cedi Gayā-Karṇa. The Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of Gujarat invaded Mahoba at this time following his conquest of Dhārā.[1]

The Candella Paramardī (C. 1165-1203 A.D.) maintained the kingdom and was able to recover Vidisha after 1173 A.D., assuming himself the title 'lord of Daśārṇa'.[2] From the Madanapur inscription[2] and Chand Bardai's *Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso*,[4] it appears that he sustained a reverse in 1182-83 A.D. at the hands of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III who overran Jejākabhuktimaṇḍala. Paramardī subsequently recovered the lost ground, and concluded a treaty in Hijri 509 (1203 A.D.) with Qutb-ud-dīn who invested Kālañjara in 1202 A.D. But Paramardī was, in the meantime, murdered by his minister Ajayadeva who, after usurping the throne, renewed the fight. Qutb-ud-dīn defeated Ajayadeva, plundered Kālañjara and conquered Mahoba.[5]

The Muslims could not keep Kālañjara under their control for long. Paramardī's son, Trailokyavarman (Trailokyamalla) defeated the Muslims at Kakaḍādaha (modern Kakadwa), south-east of Bedwara at about 1205 A.D. and recovered the lost territories including Kālañjara.[6] The inscriptions[7] of Trailokyavarman prove that his kingdom included territories like Lalitpur, Chattarpur, Panna, Ajaigarh and Rewa. In 1211-12 A. D., he wrested Rewa in Baghelkhand and probably the whole of Ḍāhala-maṇḍala from the Kalacuri Vijayasiṁha. The *Sāmantas* of Kakareḍikā (modern Kakeri on the border of the former Panna and Rewa States) who formerly owed allegiance to the Kalacuris, now

1. *S. E.*, p. 59 and Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, p. 388.
2. For Paramardī's inscriptions, see *Ep. Ind.*, vols. IV, 153, I, p. 207; *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 313.
3. *Prog. R.A.S.I., W. C.*, 1903-04, p. 55.
4. Cf. Chand Bardāī, *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso* (ed. by M.V. Pandia and S.S. Das, Bombay, 1913).
5. *S.E.*, *loc. cit.*,
6. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
7. For Trailokyavarman's records, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 272; *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 231; *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 235.

transferred the same to Trailokyavarman.[1] Trailokya's son and successor, Vīravarman, won victories over Harirāja of Gwalior, Gopāla of Nalapura (Narwar) and the king of Mathurā (in U.P.).[2]

The Kingdom of Hammīravarman, a grandson of Trailokyavarman, included the Damoh and Jabalpur Districts.[3] In 1309, 'Ala-ud-dīn Khaljī wrested the Damoh District from the Candella King.[4] After that, the Candellas, like the other contemporary clans, paled into insignificance.

With the decline of the Candella power, the whole of Madhya Pradesh was practically parcelled out into a number of petty states, of which a few became prominent in the course of time. Below, we make an attempt to discuss these States, which ultimately, either maintained a semi-independent status during the British regime, or were annexed outright to the British empire.

The Rewa Chiefs claim to be Vāghela Rajputs, tracing their descent from the Cālukya or Solāṅkī rulers of Aṇahila-pāṭaka. Baghelkhand was named after the ruling house of Rewa. It was, however, known to the Muhammadan historians[5] as Bhata or Bhatghora.

Lavaṇaprasāda of the village Vyāghrapalli or Vāghela (Gujarat) was the governor of Udayagiri and Vidisha under the rulers of Aṇhilapāṭaka.[6] From the State records of Rewa, it appears that Vīradhavala, the son of Lavanaprasāda, migrated to Marpha, 18 miles north-east of Kālañjara in 631 A.H. or 1233-34 A.D.[7] He was succeeded by his eldest son, Karṇadeva, who married the daughter of the Kalacuri ruler of Ratanpur and received the Bandhogarh fort as dowry. Karṇadeva moved from Marpha and established himself at Bandhogarh.[8]

1. *S. E., loc. cit.*
2. Cf. The Ajaigarh (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 325) and the Dahi C. P. (*A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 74) inscriptions of Vīravarman.
3. Cf. The Charkhari State inscription of Hammīravarman, V.S. 1346, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 137.
4. *S.E. loc. cit.*
5. C. E. Luard, *Rewah State Gazetteer*, vol. IV., p. 8.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 237.
7. C.E. Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
8. *Loc. cit.*

The earliest historical reference to a Vāghela Chief of Rewa is in the time of Bahlol Lodī (1451-89).[1] The Vāghela Chief was *Rājā* Bhīra or Bhaira at that time, and he assisted Hussain Shah of Jaunpur against Bahlol Lodī. *Rājā* Bhira is said to have offered allegiance to Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517) who attacked Bandhogarh in the reign of Sālivāhana Vāghela, but failed to capture it, and later 'sacked the country' as far as Banda.[2]

Sālivāhana was succeeded by his son Vīrasiṁha about 1500, who was on good terms with Sikandar Lodī. From the *Akbarnāmā* of Abū'l Fazal, we know that he gave asylum to Amān Dās, who later became famous as Saṅgrām Shāh, the father-in-law of the celebrated Durgāvatī.[3] Vīrasiṁha is the 'Narasiṁha' who was mentioned by Babur as assisting Rāṇā Saṅgrāmasiṁha at the battle of Kanwāh (March 16, 1527) with 4,000 horse men.[4] He later received the Bhata territories as *Nānkar jāgīr* (maintenance grant) from Babur.[5]

In the time of Akbar, the Baghelkhand region fell partly in the Bhat-ghora and partly in the Kālañjara *Sarkār* of the Allahābād Sūbha.[6] Mahārāja Rāmacandra Vāghel of Bandhogarh is said to have presented his celebrated court musician Tānsen Kalāwant to the Mughal emperor Akbar.[7] Aurangzeb is said to have separated the districts round Rewa from Bhat-ghora and included them together with Sohagpur in Kālañjara *Sarkār*.[8]

After the death of Aurangzeb, Avadhūtasiṁha, the minor Vāghela Chief was ousted by Hirde (Hṛdaya) Shāh of Panna. An appeal was made to the Emperor Bahādur Shāh who at once sent troops and reinstated the Vāghela Chief to his former place.[9] In 1755 Avadhūtasiṁha was succeeded by Ajita-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
2. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own historians*, vol. IV, p. 346.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 32.
4. Erskine, *Babur's Memoirs*, p. 360.
5. *The Rewah State Records*—The Administrative Section.
6. Blochman, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 157. 166.
7. *Census of India*, 1951, vol. XVI, pt. I, pp. 11-13 (Vindhya Pradesh).
8. Hamilton, *Hindoostan*, vol. I, p. 316.
9. C. E. Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

simha. During his time, the royal State Exchequer was put to severe strain owing to the Maratha incursions. But the *Rājā* is said to have rejected an offer of alliance with the British Government. On Ajitasimha's death, Jayasimha accepted the protection of the British Government by a treaty of 1812 and another of 1813.[1]

The earliest known Gond Kingdom[2] to emerge into prominence was that of Kherla, near Betul. According to Firishta, Narasimha Rāi, the *Rājā* of Kherla, enjoyed great wealth and power in 1398, and his kingdom included all the hills of Gondwana and other adjoining regions. He took part in the wars between the Bahmani Kings and the rulers of Malwa and Khandesh, and was finally defeated by Hoshang Shāh of Malwa.

In the sixteenth century, Saṅgrām Shāh, the 47th *Rājā* of the Gond line of Garha-mandla,[3] extended his dominion over 52 *garhs* or districts, comprising Saugor (Sagar), Damoh and, possibly, Bhopal, the Narmadā Valley, and Mandla and Seoni on the Satpura highlands.

About 200 years after Saṅgrām Shāh's time, Bakht-Buland, the chief of a Gond principality, established his headquarters at Deogarh in Chhindwara, and also founded the city of Nagpur, to which his successor removed the capital. The Deogarh Kingdom extended over the modern districts of Betul, Chhindwara and Nagpur and portions of Seoni, Bhandara, and Balaghat.

In the South, the city of Chanda was the seat of another dynasty which also came into prominence in the sixteenth century. The Chanda territories included most of that district and a portion at least of Berar. At present, both Chanda and Berar form part of Maharashtra.

Thus for some time the three houses of Garhamandla, Deogarh, and Chanda united almost the whole of Gondwana under the sway of aboriginal princes. Their subjection to the Mughal emperors was scarcely more than nominal. Though

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. For the history of the Gond Kingdom, see *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, Ch. II; and also *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. X, pp. 11-19.
3. For the history of Garha-mandla, see the 'History of the Garha Mandala Rājās in *J.A.S.B.*, 1837.

Garha was included in the list of Akbar's possessions as a subdivision of his *Subah* of Malwa, its history runs in a channel of its own, unaffected by the Imperial policy. And 'the princes of Chanda and Deogarh, after their first submission to Delhi, seemed to have been practically more independent than their northern neighbour'.[1]

During the reign of Saṅgrām Shāh's successor, the north-western part of the province was occupied by the Muhammadans. The widowed queen Durgāvatī was defeated and killed by the Mughal army in 1564. A *Sūbah* was formed at the Western part of Hoshangabad. Saugor (Sagar), Damoh and Bhopal were also occupied by the Mughal army. Nimar formed no part of Gondwana, and was included in the Farrukhi Kingdom of Khandesh. In 1600, Akbar captured the fortress of Asirgarh from the last of the Farrukhi kings and annexed Khandesh. Berar afterwards became a Mughal province. Ashti and Pauni in Wardha, and Kherla in Betul were the headquarters of the Muhammadan officials during the reign of Jehangir. The Mughal empire, therefore, included a strip along the Western border of the province, while the centre was occupied by the Gond Kingdoms. In Chhatisgarh the old Kalacuri dynasty remained in power.[2]

The existence of the Muhammadan empire probably contributed to the stability of the Gond kingdoms. The Mughals being content with the nominal submission of the lords of these rugged hills, any break in the continuity of their vast dominions was prevented. But when on the ruins of the empire arose the predatory Marathas and Bundelas, who were strangers to such forbearance, and the increased wealth of the country made it covetable, the Gonds succumbed to them almost without a struggle.[3]

The Bundelas appeared at Garh Kander and ruled the surrounding country from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Rudrapratāpa moved from Garh Kander to Orchha in the

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. B. Robertson, *Census of India*, 1891, vol. XI, pt. I, pp. 2-12; For reference, see Grant Duff's *History of Maharattas*, vols. I to III, 1921; also J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vols. I to IV, 1932.

beginning of the sixteenth century during the disturbed conditions resulting from Babur's invasion. Champat Rāi, *Jagīrdār* of Mau Mahewa, fought against the Mughals, and his son *Mahārāja* Chatrasāl joined hands with the Marathas in liquidating the Mughal empire.

During the seventeenth century Chatrasāl wrested a part of the Vindhyan plateau and the Narmadā Valley from the Mandla territories. But in 1733, finding himself hard pressed by the Muhammadan governors of Allahabad and Malwa, he called for the help of the Peshwa. On his death in 1735, Chatrasāl left one-third of his Kingdom to the Peshwa who sent an agent to take charge of the territory and founded the Maratha *Sūbah* of Saugor (Sagar).

In 1737, Raghoji Bhonsla, the founder of the Bhonsla State, received an order from the Peshwa to collect the *Chauth* from Berar and Gondwana, and in the following year, he went to Nagpur. By 1743, he acquired the Gond principality of Deogarh, penetrated into Chhatisgarh and rendered it a tributary. In the following decade, Chhattisgarh, Sambalpur and even Cuttack were added to the Bhonsla State, to which the kingdom of Chanda was also merged.

The set back of the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in 1761, however, for a time stopped their encroachment. But in 1781, the land of the Gonds became a part of the Maratha principality of Saugor (Sagar). Ten years later, the Bhonsla *Rājā* of Nagpur drove out the Saugor (Sagar) Marathas from the greater part of the Narmadā Valley. In 1799, he also gained possession of Mandla.

The province of Malwa[1] was conquered by Ala-ud-dīn in 1305 and thus remained a part of the Sultanate of Delhi till 1398. Its governor, Dilwar Khān, threw off Delhi's allegiance after Timur's invasion, and became the *de facto* monarch. His son Alp Khan, later known as Hushang Shāh, ascended throne in 1406. He was a powerful king. After Hushang Shāh's death, his son Ghazi was deposed by his minister Mahmūd Khān in 1436, and he founded the Khaljī dynasty of Malwa. Mahmūd enlarged his dominions to a great extent, but during

1. A. L. Srivastava, *The Sultanate of Delhi*, 3rd ed., p. 260.

the reign of Mahmūd II, a later ruler of the line, the independence of Malwa came to an end (1531) and the kingdom became a part of Gujarat. In 1562 Malwa was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Malwa was used as the highway to the south both by the Mughals and the Marathas. It formed a *Sūbah* under the Mughal Emperors. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas made a bid for the conquest of northern India, and in the latter part of the eighteenth Century, Malwa came to be divided between the Maratha rulers of Gwalior and Indore, belonging to the Scindia and Holkar families, respectively.

Gwalior and Indore were perpetually at war. It has been said that the history of India might have been different if the rulers of these two States could have presented a united front to the British in the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] The Third Anglo-Maratha War of 1817-18 finally broke the power of the Marathas.

The map of Malwa was redrawn under Sir John Malcolm's settlement. The two Maratha States of Gwalior and Indore were enclosed with carefully demarcated limits. Fifteen Rajput and a few Muhammadan States that were under the suzerainty of either Gwalior, or Indore, were made independent of them and brought under the British protection. Malwa, after Malcolm's settlement, remained more or less intact until the transfer of power in August, 1947.[2]

On the other hand, the twenty years that elapsed before the establishment of British rule were a troubled period for the Narmadā Valley. There were constant wars between the rulers of Bhopal and the Maratha generals. In 1805, the Scindia invaded Hoshangabad, and for some time held part of the district, and finally came the scourge of the Pindharis who devastated the country for several years. In 1818, the overthrow of the Peshwa gave the British all the territories in Saugor (Sagar) and the Narmadā Valley which nominally belonged to him. The same year also saw the disturbances in Nagpur and the flight of Appa Sāhib. All the Bhonsla possessions

1. V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of Indian States*, p. 213.
2. *Loc. cit.*

about the Narmadā were ceded to the British by treaty, and what remained of the Bhonsla State was taken under their management *during the minority* of the young *Rājā* who had been placed upon the throne. In 1830, the reins of Government were assumed by the *Rājā* himself; but on his death in 1853, without a heir the State became a British possession in accordance with the Doctrine of Lapse.[1]

1. P. E. Roberts, *History of British India*, 3rd ed., p. 353.

CHAPTER II

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND MADHYAPRADESH

THE present Madhya Pradesh was broadly divided in the pre-independence days into two distinct areas, viz., (1) the Central Provinces and Berar and (2) the Central India Agency (the area under the Princely States). Immediately after independence, the Central India Agency (also known as Central India) lost its semi-independent status and became an integral part of India. It was divided into three newly created States, viz., Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh. The old province of Central Provinces and Berar was merely renamed as Madhya Pradesh.

Afterwards, under the provisions of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, the State of Madhya Pradesh was formed on November 1, 1956. It now consists of the seventeen Hindi speaking districts of the previous State of the same name, the former State of Madhya Bharat (except the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur (Mandasor) District, the former States of Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh and the Sironj Sub-division of the Kotah District, which was an enclave of Rajasthan in Madhya Pradesh.[1]

A brief outline of the story of the formation of Madhya Pradesh has been attempted below.

1. THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

We have already seen how British rule was established in the Saugor (Sagar) and Narmadā Territories in 1818 and in the Nagpur region in 1853. In 1861 both were united and the administrative unit of the province of Central Provinces was established.[2] Sambalpur, which had come under the possession of the British earlier in 1849, was incorporated in the province

1. Cf. *The Statesman Year Book*, 1958, pp. 180-81.
2. B. Robertson, *Census of India*, 1891, vol. XI, Pt. I, p. 2.

in 1862.[1] In 1864 the Nimar District in the Narmadā-Taptī valley also came under its jurisdiction.[2]

The boundaries of the Central Provinces in 1891 were as follows:

"The Central Provinces lie, as their name implies, about the centre of the Indian Peninsula and cover an area of 115,936 sq. miles.

. . . . .They are bounded on the north by the Central India States, which comprise the tracts of Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand, and by the district of Jhansi belonging to the North-West Provinces (i.e. the present U.P.). On the north-west lie Gwalior, Bhopal and Indore. To the west and south, the Provinces are bounded by the Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency, by Berar and the Nizam's Dominions. On the east come the Godavary District of Madras, the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, and the Feudatory *Mahals* of Orissa. Along the north-east border lie the Native States of Chhotanagpur. The Central Provinces are thus almost completely surrounded by foreign territory."[3]

In the Census of 1891, the area of the Central Provinces was 115,936 sq. miles, of which the area of the British territory was 86,501 sq. miles, and that of the Feudatory States was 29,435 Sq. miles.[4] The British territory was divided into 18 districts[5]

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
4. In the census report of 1881, the area was quoted as 113,279 sq. miles. Though there was no change in the limits of the province, the figures given show an increase of 2,657 sq. miles according to the corrected area statement issued by the Revenue Department in 1886; vide B. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
5. Divisionwise arrangement of the 18 Districts as given in the census report of 1891 :
   A. Jubbalpore (Jabalpur) Division—
      1. Saugor (Sagar), 2. Damoh, 3. Jubbalpore (Jabalpur), 4. Mandla, and 5. Seoni.
   B. Nerbuda (Narmada) Division—
      6. Hoshangabad, 7. Narsingpur, 8. Nimar, 9. Betul, and 10. Chhindwara.
   C. Nagpur Division—
      11. Nagpur, 12. Wardha, 13. Chanda, 14. Bhandara, and 15. Balaghat.

which were again grouped into four Divisional Commissionerships for the purpose of administration. These divisions were (1) Jabbalpore (Jabalpur), (2) Nerbudā (Narmadā), (3) Nagpur and (4) Chhatisgarh. The Native State of Makrai was politically attached to the Narmadā Division, while the fourteen Eastern Feudatory States[1] to the Chhatisgarh Division.

The boundaries of the province remained practically unaltered during the decade 1891 to 1901. But significant changes began to take place during the next decade (1901-11). In the year 1853 Berar was given to the British Government on lease by His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.[2] But the terms of lease were revised, and on 1st October, 1903, the territory was amalgamated with the Central Provinces under the Government of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and Berar.[3] In 1905, the greater part of the Sambalpur District, together with the five Feudatory (Oriya speaking) States of Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi was transferred to the then Presidency of Bengal, while the five Hindi-speaking Feudatory States of Chang-Bhakar, Korea, Surguja, Udaipur and Jashpur were transferred from the Bengal Presidency to the Central Provinces.[4] A small portion of the Chanda District was also added to the then Madras Presidency.[5] These changes resulted in a net increase of 15,103 sq. miles,

   D. Chhatisgarh Division—
      16. Raipur, 17. Bilaspur, and 18. Sambalpur.
      Ibid., p. 34.
1. The fourteen Eastern Feudatory States are as follows :
   1. Bastar, 2. Kanker, 3. Nandgaon, 4. Khairagarh, 5. Chhuikhadan, 6. Kawardha, 7. Sakti, 8. Raigarh, 9. Sarangarh, 10. Bamra, 11. Rairakhol, 12. Sonpur, 13. Patna, and 14. Kalahandi.

   Of these the most extensive State was Bastar (13,062 sq. miles), next in order came Kalahandi (3,745 sq. miles), Patna (2,399 sq. miles), Bamra (1,988 sq. miles), Raigarh (1,486 sq. miles) and Kanker (1,429 sq. miles). The remaining ten States were all under 1000 sq. miles in extent, the smallest being Sakti with an area of 138 sq. miles. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
2. *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1941, p. 150.
3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. X, 1908, p. 11.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. J.T. Marten., *Census of India*, 1911, vol. X, pt. I-*Reports*, p. 2.

enlarging the area of the province which covered 1,31,000 sq. miles.[1]

The Central Provinces now lay between 17°47' and 24°27' N. and 76° and 84°E. In the words of J. T. Marten, the province was "bounded on the north and north-west by the Central India States and along a small strip of the Saugor District by the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, on the west by the Khandesh District of Bombay, on the south by the Nizam's Dominions and the Madras Presidency, and on the east by Zamindari estates of the Madras Presidency and by the Sambalpur District and the Feudatory States of Chota Nagpur in the Province of Bihar and Orissa."[2]

Politically, the province was divided in 1911 into three sectors, viz., the 18 British districts of the Central Provinces,[4] the 4 districts of Berar[4] and 15 Feudatory States.[5] For administrative purposes, the British districts were divided into four divisions in the census reports of 1891 and 1901. But in 1903, the addition of six districts of Berar, which had been controlled by the

1. *Loc. Cit.*

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1 .

3. According to the census of 1901, the area of the 18 British districts was 86,459 sq. miles. In the re-arrangement of territory with Bengal in 1905, 3,824 sq. miles of the district of Sambalpur was transferred to that province. Again, the transfer of the three lower *talukas* of the Chanda District to Madras resulted in the loss of an area of 599 sq. miles and thus the area of the British Districts was reduced from 86,459 to 82,057 sq. miles. The transfer of the Sambalpur District from the Chhattisgarh Division, was followed by a redistribution of areas in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts of that Division in 1906. Of the scattered remains of these two vast districts, the new district of Durg was composed in the same year. A small Zamindari tract from the neighbouring Chanda District was also added to it next year. Thus the number of three districts in the Chhattisgarh Division was restored, and the British districts remained unchanged in number during the decade. Vide J. T. Marten, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

4. The amalgamation of Berar with the central Provinces in 1903, gave an additional area of 17,766 sq. miles to that province. The districts into which the Administrative Division of Berar was divided, are as follows.
1. Amraoti, 2. Akola, 3. Buldana, and 4. Yeotmal. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-26.

5. The result of the exchanges in respect of the Feudatory States, referred to above, (see supra, p. 43) was a net gain of 1,739 sq. miles for the province. J.T. Marten, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Commissioner of Berar under the Resident of Hyderabad, became another administrative division under the jurisdiction of the local Administration at Nagpur, increasing the number of British districts to 24. In 1905 the six districts of Berar were reduced to four by a re-distribution of *taluks*, but the exterior boundaries of Berar Division remained unaltered during the decade.[1] Consequently the number of the British districts was reduced to 22.

No significant changes occurred during the next decade (1911-21).[2] But according to the census of 1921, the Central Provinces and Berar extended over 1,31,052 sq. miles, of which the British districts and Berar occupied 99,876 sq. miles. The Feudatory States formed the remaining area of 31,176 sq. miles, which was less than one-fourth of the total.

The boundaries of the province again remained almost unchanged during the next decade (1921-31).[3] The administration was carried on by a Governor in Council, who replaced the Chief Commissioner in 1919, in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The province was divided into the five divisions each under a Divisional Commissioner for the purposes of administration. But at the end of 1931 the Nerbudda (Narmadā) Division was abolished and the districts of Damoh, Narsingpur and Seoni were amalgamated with Saugor (Sagar), Hoshangabad and Chhindwara, respectively.[4]

1. *Loc. cit.*

2. With the introduction of the reforms in 1919, the territories of some districts were redistributed and, as a result, four new *Tahsils* were created. N.J. Roughton, *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. XI, Pt. I-Reports, p.1.

3. The area shown in the census report of 1931 (vide W. H. Shoobert, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XII, pt. I, Report, p. 1) was 43 sq. miles more than it had been in 1921, and the latest figure given by the Surveyor-General after the Tables had been printed, indicates, however, a further increase of no less than 1,955 sq. miles. This, was, according to Shoobert, due to a recalculation of the forest areas.

4. Arrangement of the districts under the remaining Commissioner's Divisions at the end of the year 1931 (vide W.H. Shoobert, *op. cit.*, p. 2), was as follows :
A. Jubbulpore (Jabalpur) Division (25,747 sq. miles):—
1. Jubbulpore (Jabalpur), 2. Saugor (Sagar with Damoh), 3. Hoshangabad (with Narsinghpur), 4. Mandla, and 5. Nimar.

In the following decade (1931-41), certain important changes were made. In accordance with an agreement concluded with the Nizam on October 24, 1936, which recognised and re-affirmed his sovereignty over Berar, the Central Provinces and Berar began to be administered as a single Governor's Province.[1] The British districts of the Central Provinces had an area of 80,766 sq. miles, and Berar 17,809 sq. miles. Thus the total area shown in the census of 1941 was 98,575 sq. miles.[2] The division-wise arrangements of the various districts remained practically unaltered; only an additional district, known as Betul, was created in the Nagpur Division.[3]

The total area of the Feudatory States[4] was reduced greatly during the decade as a result of the transfer of Surguja, Jashpur, Korea, Udaipur and Chang-bhakar to the province of Bihar which constituted a separate province from April 1, 1936.[5] These States were, however, once again merged with the Central Provinces and Berar before the first post-independence census of 1951.[6]

During the decade 1941 to '51, extensive territorial changes took place in the State. The area of the Central Provinces and Berar as shown in the 1941 census was 98,575 sq. miles, as against 130,272 sq. miles shown in the 1951 Tables. The change was largely due to the integration of the Chhattisgarh and Bhopal Agency States soon after the attainment of

B. Nagpur Division (27,306 sq. Miles):—
6. Nagpur, 7. Wardha, 8. Chanda, and 9. Chhindwara (with Seoni).

C. Chhattisgarh Division (29,096 sq. miles):—
10. Raipur, 11. Bilaspur, 12. Durg, 13. Bhandara, and 14. Balaghat.

D. Berar Division (17,789 sq. miles):—
15. Amraoti, 16. Akola, 17. Buldana, and 18. Yeotmal.

1. *The Statesman's year Book*, 1941, p. 150.
2. R. K. Ramadhyani, *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. VIII, *Tables*, p. 2.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. The total area of the Feudatory States shown in the *Tables* of the census report of 1941 is 20,135 sq. miles as against 31,176 sq. miles given in the previous census report (1931). *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. VII, pt. I-A., Introduction, pp. i-ii.
5. Cf. *The Statesman's year Book*, 1946, p. 157.
6. *Census of India*, 1951, *Loc. cit.*

Independence, when Sardar Patel effected the historic unification of the Princely States with the rest of India.[1]

The four Commissioners' Divisions, in which the former province of Central Provinces and Berar was divided, were now abolished under the Central Provinces and Berar Commissioners' Act, 1948, which came into force from the 1st November, 1948.[2] The province was known, thereafter, as Madhya Pradesh with its Capital at Nagpur. It consisted of twenty two districts[3] and the administration began to be controlled by the State Government through various officials.

2. THE CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY

The name Central India was, originally applied officially only to Malwa. In 1854 the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand regions were added to Malwa to form the Central India Agency.[4] The different territories which composed the Agency were at first under the charge of separate political officers, but the Residents at Indore and Gwalior directly dealt with the Government of India, while Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand were independent charges.[5] After 1854, these

1. The most important change affecting the Organisation of Census operations in the State was the integration of the 14 States of the Eastern States Agency and of the tiny State of Makrai of the Bhopal Agency with Madhya Pradesh. This resulted in the formation of the three new districts of Bastar, Raigarh and Sarguja and an increase of 2,750 and 150 sq. miles respectively in the areas of the Durg and Hoshangabad Districts. The other minor changes were the transfer of 39 villages of the Nimar District to Madhya Bharat, of 11 villages of the Jabalpur District to Vindhya Pradesh and of 5 villages from Vindhya Pradesh to the Jabalpur District. The net effect of these territorial changes was the addition of 31,697 sq. miles of territory. See *Census of India*, 1951, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 to 5, see also V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of Indian States*.
2. *Census of India*, 1951, *Loc. cit.*
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. The twentytwo districts as mentioned in *Census of India*, 1951, Vol.VII, pt.II-A, are described below.
1. Sagar, 2. Jabalpur, 3. Hoshangabad, 4. Nimar, 5. Mandla, 6. Betul, 7. Chhindwara, 8. Raipur, 9. Bilaspur, 10. Durg, 11. Bastar, 12. Raigarh, 13. Sarguja, 14. Chanda, 15. Bhandara, 16. Balaghat, 17. Wardha, 18. Nagpur, 19. Amravati, 20. Akola, 21. Buldana and 22. Yeotmal.
5. Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX, p. 334.

different charges were combined under the Central Control of an Agent to the Governor General. R. Hamilton was appointed the first Agent with his headquarters at Indore.[1]

The Central India Agency which was thus created, lay between 21°22′ and 26°52′ N. and 74°0′ and 83°0′ E. Before the excision of the Gwalior State, which took place after 1911, the Agency was bounded on the north and north-east by the Chambal river separating it from the United Provinces and the Rajputana Agency. On the east and along its southern boundary lay the Central Provinces, beyond the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. The south-western boundary was formed by the Khandesh, Rewa-Kantha and Panch-Mahal Districts of the Bombay Presidency, while the various States of Rajputana enclosed it on the West.[2]

The area of the Agency, as represented in the census Reports of 1891, was 77,808 sq. miles.[3] But this was possibly not based on any precise calculation. For, though there was practically no change in the limits of the Agency, the area dealt with in the census of 1901 was 78,772 sq. miles.[4] But according to the census reports of 1911, the area of the Agency was shown as 77,367 sq. miles and the States and Estates comprised in the Agency then numbered in all about 130.[5]

Since 1911 the area of the Agency underwent a notable modification by the excision of the Gwalior State, which originally formed one-third of its area. This was done in accordance with the principle by which all important States were placed in closer relationship with the Government of India, and 'in recognition of the right of this big State to rank with others of the first importance and of the pre-eminent services

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-35.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Luard, *Census of India* 1911, Vol. XVII, 'Central India Agency, Report & Tables', pp. 1-2.
3. Robertson, *Census of India*, 1891, Vol. II, "Territorial Subdivisions: Protected States".
4. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. XIX-B, 'Central India'.
5. Luard, *op. cit.* The transfer of certain isolated Rajputana portions, then under the political control of this Agency, to Rajputana, and the inclusion of island tracts of Central India lying outside its border, excluded in the last census, changed the area to that of 77,367 sq. miles.

rendered by its ruler to the Government of India'.[1] After the excision, the adjusted area of the Agency (including the isolated State of Khaniadhana covering 68 sq. miles) was 51,531 sq. miles.[2] The actual units of administration of the Agency were the States and Estates which numbered about 61 and the Pargana of Manpur. They varied in area from Rewa with 13,000 sq. miles to some petty holdings comprising a few villages.[3]

The number of the States continued to remain the same at the time of the census of 1931, although a slight increase of 66 sq. miles in the total area of the Agency was noticed.[4] Thus the total area shown in the Census of 1931 was 51,597 sq. miles. The irregular boundary of the Agency extended upto the Bombay Presidency in the south-west, the Rajputana Agency in the west, the Central Provinces in south-east, and portions of Gwalior and the United Provinces in the north.[5] The continuity of the Agency was, however, disturbed by the intrusion of the British Districts of Jhansi (U.P.) and Saugar (C.P.).

While the actual administrative units were the States and Estates in the Agency, its political control remained with the Government of India working through its political offices. The political charges, which were formed before 1891, have been described in the 1891 census reports as 'artificial and unstable', for these were 'merely convenient groupings of States' with a view to exerting control by the political officers.[6] Again, it was pointed out that the various States of the Agency

1. *Ibid.*, 1921, Vol. XVIII, pt. I, pp. 1-2.
2. Cf. Area of the Agency in 1911— 77,367 sq. miles;
   The Area of Gwalior deducted from the Agency 25,836 sq. miles;
   Therefore the area of the Agency 51,531 sq. miles;
3. *Census of India*, 1921, *loc. cit.*
4. The outlying Nandwai Pargana of the Indore State, was previously excluded from Central India as it was situated in the Rajputana Agency. The Pathari (Nawab) Estate in the Bhopal political charge was transferred to Gwalior in 1921, but it was retransferred to the Agency. The two villages of Sheogarh and Abheypur of the Rajgarh State were excluded from the agency. The village of Sundarsi was transferred to Gwalior which also surrendered a few villages in exchange. The net gain of the Agency is 66 sq. miles. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XX, pt. I, pp. 1-2.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Loc. cit.*

intermingled in such a manner that one State often had possessions in several political charges.[1] As it has been admitted in the census reports of 1911 and 1921,[2] the adjustment of internal areas became a matter of great difficulty in view of the lack of a complete survey, desire to inflate the size of possessions and the frequent omission in State surveys of the areas of feudatories and of waste and forest lands. The census reports of 1931, however, claimed some amount of 'accuracy or trustworthiness of returns' for Central India.[3]

But, the instability of the political charges has been brought out in the following table which shows the changes that occurred since 1891, the most notable of them being the excision of Gwalior and its feudatories from this Agency in 1921.

1891	1. Gwalior Agency, 2. Indore Agency, 3. Bhopal Agency, 4. Western Malwa Agency, 5. Bhopawar Agency, 6 Guna Agency, 7. Bundelkahand Agency and 8. Baghelkhand Agency.
1901	1. Gwalior Residency, 2. Indore Residency, 3. Bhopal Agency, 4. Bhopawar Agency, 5. Indore Agency, 6. Malwa Agency, 7. Bundelkhand Agency and 8. Baghelkhand Agency.
1911	1. Gwalior Residency, 2. Indore Residency, 3. Bhopal Agency, 4. Bhopawar Agency, 5. Malwa Agency, 6. Bundelkhand Agency and 7. Baghelkhand Agency.

1. *Ibid.*, 1901, Vol. XIX-B, 'Provincial Tables, Pt. III'.
2. *Ibid.*, 1911, *loc. cit.*, and 1921, *loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid.*, 1931, *loc. cit.*

1921	1. Indore, 2. Bhopal Agency, 3. Malwa Agency, 4. Southern Central Indian States Agency, 5. Bundelkhand Agency and6. Baghelkhand Agency.
1931	1. Indore, 2. Bhopal Agency, 3. Malwa and Southern Central India States Agency, 4. Bundelkhand Agency and 5. Baghelkhand Agency.

The process of change, however, continued. Thus after the Census of 1931, the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies were amalgamated into one charge, and certain States from the Malwa Agency were transferred to the Bhopal Agency.[1]

Ultimately, the system of treating the political charges as units was abandoned. In its place, every State with a population of 16,000 and above was shown as an independent unit.[2]

1. *Loc. cit.*

2. The arrangement of the States is shown below in the order in which they appear in the table of the Census Report of 1931 (vide Vol. XX, Pt. I, pp. 4-5).

Central India Agency :	(A) *British Territory*. 1. British Pargana of Manpur. (N.B.) After 1931, Manpur was handed over to Indore State, vide census of 1931, XX, pt. I pp. 5-6). (B) *Indian States*. 2. Indore.
Bhopal Agency :	3. Bhopal, 4. Khilchipur, 5. Narsinghpur, 6. Rajgarh, 7. Rest of the Agency: (a) Kurwai, (b) Other States.
Malwa Agency :	8. Dewas (sr.) 9. Dewas (jr.) 10. Jaora, 11. Ratlam, 12. Sailana, 13. Sitamau, 14. Rest of the Agency.
Southern Central India States Agency :	15. Ali-Rajpur, 16. Barwani, 17. Dhar, 18. Jhabua, 19. Rest of the Agency : (a) Jobat, (b) Other States.
Bundelkhand Agency :	20. Ajaigarh, 21. Baoni, 22. Bijawar, 23. Charkhari, 24. Chhatarpur, 25. Datia, 26. Orchha, 27. Panna, 28. Samthar, 29. Rest of the Agency.
Baghelkhand Agency :	30. Baraundha, 31. Maihar, 32. Nagod, 33. Rewa, 34. Rest of the Agency : (a) Kothia, (b) Sohawal, (c) Other States.

The Khaniadhana State, though administratively outside the territorial limits of the Central India Agency, was included into it for census purposes.[1] Then again, the small units with population below 16,000 were placed as a group in the political charge to which they belonged.[2] They were 29 in all.[3]

These administrative divisions were a legacy from the first quarter of the nineteenth century and it continued for more than a decade from 1931. Thus in the census of 1941, the Central India was almost 'a crazy network of Princely States each under a hereditary ruler and a self-sufficient world within

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
2. As shown in supra p. 51 fn. 2
3. The units which are grouped together in No. 2 are detailed below.

Agency :	Sr. No. in No. 2.	States to states comprising the group.
Bhopal	7(b) other states	1. Muhammadgarh 2. Pathari
Malwa	14. Rest of Agency	1. Panth-Piploda 2. Piploda
Southern Central Indian States	19 (b) Other States	1. Jamnia 2. Kathiwara 3. Mathwar 4. Nimkhera 5. Rajgarh 6. Ratanmal
Bundelkhand	29. Rest of Agency	1. Alipura, 2. Beri 3. Bankapahari 4. Bijna, 5. Bihat, 6. Dhurwai, 7. Garrauli, 8. Gaurihar 9. Jigni, 10. Lugasi, 11. Naigawan-Rebai, 12. Sarila, 13. Tori Fatehpur.
Baghelkhand	34(c) Other States	1. Bhaisaundha 2. Jaso 3. Kamta-Rajaula 4. Pahra 5. Paldeo 6. Turaon.

itself'.[1] Gwalior, Indore and a few other States had resources to support administration. The rest of the country was divided among a number of small States which were controlled in varying degrees by the political officers of British India.

After independence, all these States and holdings were abolished in accordance with the reorganisation that was agreed upon in April, 1948, and there emerged three unified States in their place, viz., Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and the Vindhya Pradesh, each of them obtaining the status of a State under the Constitution of India. It recognised three categories of States. The States of the first two categories (i.e. Part 'A' and Part 'B' of the First Schedule) were leased on the concept of federalism. Apart from the institution of the Rajpramukh, the Part 'B' States were distinguished from the Part 'A' states by the provisions contained in Article 371 of the Constitution. The Part 'C' States, which ranked the lowest in the hierarchy, were administered by the Centre on a unitary basis.

3. MADHYA BHARAT, BHOPAL AND VINDHYA PRADESH

(A) MADHYA BHARAT

The new State of Madhya Bharat started on its career on the 28th May, 1948, and the Constitution of India gave the State the status of a Part 'B' State.[2] It lay across the Central portion of the Indian Peninsula between latitudes 20°40' and 26° 40' N. and longitudes 74° 10' and 78° 40' E It was bounded on the north and north-west by the Chambal river which separated it from Uttar Pradesh (the former United Provinces) and Rajasthan (the former Rajputana Agency) States. On its eastern and south eastern boundaries lay the territories of Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bhopal and Madhya Pradesh. The Khandesh, Rewa-Kantha and Panch-Mahal Districts of the Bombay State were on its south-western boundary; while along the west its boundaries again merged with Rajasthan.[3]

1. *Ibid.*, 1951, Vol. XV, Pt-1A- *Report, Madhya Bharat & Bhopal.*
2. R. N. Gilchrist, *Principles of Political Science* (1957), pp. 670-1.
3. *Census of India*, 1951, *loc. cit.*

The area of the State was 46,478 sq. miles and was divided into 16 districts,[1] of which Nimar was the largest and Indore the smallest. The boundaries of almost all the districts and tahsils in the south were redrawn and many new tahsils formed. The administration of the State was placed in the hands of the Rajpramukh and a Cabinet of Ministers.

(B) BHOPAL

This State was constituted in June, 1949. It comprised the territory of the former Bhopal State and its political status was equal to that of a Part 'C' State.[2]

The State extended over an area of 6,875 sq. miles, and lay between latitudes 22°32′ and 24°4′ N and longitudes 76°28′ and 78°52′ E. According to the census Reports of 1951[3] it was bounded on the north by the Bhilsa and Rajgarh Districts of Madhya Bharat, the Ton District of Rajasthan and the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh; on the south by the Dewas District of Madhya Bharat, and by the Narmadā river separating it from the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh; on the east by the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh; and on the west by the Rajgarh, Shajapur and Dewas Districts of Madhya Bharat.

The State was divided into two districts[4] for the purpose of administration. The number of tahsils was reduced from 22 in 1941 to 14 in 1951.[5]

(C) VINDHYA PRADESH

This State was formed in 1948 by the union of 34 States[6] of the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand political Agencies of Central India and the State of the Gwalior Residency, i.e.,

1. The 16 districts of Madhya Bharat (*Census of India*, 1951, *loc. cit*). 1. Bhind, 2. Gird, 3. Morena, 4. Shivpuri, 5. Goona, 6. Bhilsa, 7. Rajgarh, 8. Shajapur, 9. Ujjain, 10. Indore, 11. Dewas, 12. Mandsaur, 13. Ratlam, 14. Dhar, 15. Jhabua, and 16. Nimar.
2. R. N. Gilchrist, *loc. cit.*
3. See *Census of India*, 1951, *loc. cit.*
4. Two districts of Bhopal were (a) Sehore, and (b) Raisen, vide *Census of India*, 1951, *loc. cit.* 5. *Loc. cit.*
6. Cf. supra p. 52 fn. 2.

Khanniadhana. After the integration and transfer of the enclaves, the following administrative divisions existed on the first March, 1951.[1]

Commissioner's	*Districts*
A. Bundelkhand Division with headquarters at Nowgang.	1. Datia 2. Tikamgarh 3. Chhatarpur 4. Panna
B. Baghelkhand Division with headquarters at Rewa.	1. Rewa 2. Sidhi 3. Shahdol 4. Satna

The total area of Vindhya Pradesh was 23,603.1 sq. miles. It was given the status of a Part B State in the First Schedule of the Constitution.[2] But the State was subsequently converted into a centrally administered unit (i.e. Part C State) because of its economic and political backwardness.[3]

Vindhya Pradesh was situated between 78° and 83° E. and 22° and 26° N. It was bounded, according to the census Report of 1951, on the north by the Jhansi, Hamirpur, Banda, Allahabad and Mirzapur Districts of Uttar Pradesh, and on the east by the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh and the Surgaja and Bilaspur Districts of Madhya Pradesh. Lastly, it was touched by the Jhansi District of Uttar Pradesh and the Madhya Bharat State on the west.[4]

1. For details of the enclaves, see *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, 'Vindhya Pradesh'.
2. R. N. Gilchrist, *loc. cit.*
3. V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of Indian States*, pp. 201-12.
4. See *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, '*Vindhya Pradesh*,' *loc. cit.*

4. MADHYA PRADESH

It has aptly been remarked that the post-independent structure of the States of the Indian Union is 'partly the result of accident and circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India and partly a by-product of the historic process of the integration of former Indian States'.[1] The map of the territories annexed and directly ruled by the British was not shaped by any rational or scientific planning, but mainly by the military, political or administrative exigencies of the time. The necessity of a reorganisation of provinces on a rational basis was pointed out even by the authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918.[2] The Indian Statutory Commission of 1930, also upheld the same opinion.[3]

Immediately after independence, a revolutionary change came over to the former Princely States with dramatic speed. In addition to the factors, like linguistic and ethnic homogeneity or historical tradition, the compulsion of certain dynamic urges of the time necessitated quick decisions.

We have already seen that the Constitution of India recognised three categories of States and gave each of the three a pattern and status of its own. But it is to be remembered that like the American States, the individual States of India are not indestructible.[4]

The demand for the reorganisation of States is often equated with the demand for the formation of linguistic provinces. But much emphasis was given both at the Hyderabad (1953) and Kalyani Sessions (1954) of the Indian National Congress to the unity of India and national security which, as the Kalyani resolution suggests, 'must be given first priority'. The report of the States Reorganisation Commssion (1955) also emphasised this same point.[5] In this way, we find that all the Committees and Commissions expressed themselves against a monistic approach to the problem.

1. *Reports of the States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, p. 1.
2. *Reports on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, para-39.
3. *Reports on The Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. II, para-25.
4. Cf. *Report of The States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Madhya Pradesh of 1951 was a composite State. The people of the eight Marathi-speaking districts[1] became vociferous in demanding the separation of these areas. It was a part of Mahavidarbha Movement whose origin can be traced back to 1905. But though the States Reorganisation Commission recommended the creation of the Vidarbha State,[2] the people of the area ultimately reconciled themselves to merging with Maharashtra, the Marathi-speaking State of the Indian Union.[3]

Along with the question of separation of the Marathi-speaking areas, the question of the future of the other Hindi-speaking units of Central India, namely Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal and Madhya Bharat, naturally arose. The Mahakosal Pradesik Congress Committee suggested the formation of a State consisting of the Hindi-speaking areas of the then Madhya Pradesh, the Malwa portion of Madhya Bharat and the whole of Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal.[4] There was little doubt, as held by the Commission,[5] that from the point of view of Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh, the advantages of becoming an integral part of a richly-endowed State would more than compensate for the initial disadvantages, if any, of temporarily retarding the development plans and the like. Regarding the union of Madhya Bharat with Madhya Pradesh, the Commission also suggested with equal emphasis, that 'in the long run the formation of the bigger unit will be desirable.'[6]

These facts were widely appreciated. There was a remarkable consensus with regard to the formation of a large State comprising the Hindi-speaking areas of Central India. Accordingly the Commission recommended the following areas in the proposed State :—

(*a*) the 14 districts of the residuary Madhya Pradesh,
(*b*) the Bhopal State,

1. The Eight Marathi-speaking districts are as follows, viz., 1. Buldana, 2. Akola, 3. Amaravati, 4. Yeotmal, 5. Wardha, 6. Nagpur, 7. Bhandara, and 8. Chanda. Of these Akola, Amaravati, Buldana and Yeotmal were in Berar.
2. *Reports of the States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, p. 125.
3. Cf. *Census of India*, 1961, Vol. VIII, Part IA-*Reports*, The Marathi speaking States of Central India became an integral part of Maharashtra.
4. V. P. Menon, *op cit.*, pp. 289-92.
5. *Reports of the States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, p. 127.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

(*c*) the State of Vindhya Pradesh,
(*d*) Madhya Bharat except the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur District, and
(*e*) the Sironj Sub-Division of the Kotah District of Rajasthan .

Thus, the State of Madhya Pradesh was formed on November 1, 1956, under the provision of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, and also the Seventh Constitutional Amendment Act, 1956. The new State became a compact unit and in spite of the observation that boundaries are still arbitrary and in places fantastic,[1] it has 'appropriately' been described as Madhya Pradesh.[2]

The Census of India, 1961, Vol. VIII, Part 1A, Reports, gives the names of the following 43 districts into which the State of Madhya Pradesh is now divided. Bhopal was made the capital of the new State.

A. GWALIOR DIVISION

1. Morena, 2. Bhind, 3. Gwalior 4. Datia, 5. Shivpuri and 6. Guna.

B. REWA DIVISION

1. Tikamgarh, 2. Chhatarpur, 3. Panna, 4. Satna, 5. Rewa, 6. Shahdol, and 7. Sidhi.

C. INDORE DIVISION

1. Mandasaur (Mandasor), 2. Ratlam, 3. Ujjain, 4. Jhabua, 5. Dhar, 6. Indore, 7. Dewas, 8. West Nimar, and 9. East Nimar.

D. BHOPAL DIVISION

1. Shajapur, 2. Rajgarh, 3. Vidisha, 4. Sehore, 5. Raisen, 6. Hoshangabad, and 7. Betul.

1. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 565.
2. *Reports of The States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, p. 132.

E. JABALPUR DIVISION

1. Sagar, 2. Damoh, 3. Jabalpur, 4. Narsingpur, (Narsimhapur), 5. Mandla, 6. Chhindwara, 7. Seoni, and 8. Balaghat.

F. BILASPUR DIVISION

1. Surguja, 2. Bilaspur, and 3. Raigarh.

G. RAIPUR DIVISION

1. Durg, 2. Raipur, and 3. Bastar.

Little changes have taken place since 1961 in the above arrangement except in respect of two districts of the Indore Division, viz., West Nimar and East Nimar. These two districts were renamed as Khargone and Khandwa, respectively.[1]

1. *The Indian Year Book*, 1964, 'Madhya Pradesh, Administrative Divisions'.

CHAPTER III

MOUNTAIN SYSTEM

THE reorganisation of the States of India based on the States Reorganisation Commission Reports mainly rests on administrative and strategic considerations, and not on the homogeneity of environmental factors. The Aravallis and Central India (Madhya Pradesh) have been described by Spate as 'the heart of India'.[1] This area, 'roughly the triangle between Delhi, the Gulf of Cambay, and Bengal—is an area of great physical complexity'.[2] On the basis of structural and topographical differences, this area may be divided into the following physiographic areas:[3]

(*a*) the Tāptī Valley;
(*b*) the Satpura (Mahadeo)—Maikal 'culmination';
(*c*) the Chhota Nagpur peneplains, continuing the Satpura-Maikal trends still further east;
(*d*) the great Narmadā-Son furrow;
(*e*) the Vindhya hills (Deccan Lava) and
(*f*) the Bhanrer-Kaimur Hills (Vindhyan-rocks);
(*g*) the long slope of Deccan Lavas in the Chambal basin north of the Vindhyan hills;
(*h*) the Vindhyan rock scarps of Northern Malwa;
(*i*) the Aravallis;
(*j*) gneissic Bundelkhand to the east of Malwa; and
(*k*) the scarped plateaus of Vindhyan sand-stone in Rewa.

The hilly tracts of Madhya Pradesh, lie principally along the Vindhya and Satpura ranges and their numerous branches. Strictly speaking, there is but one range of mountains in the province. In the south-west this is divided by the Narmadā into two parallel lines, the northern being known as the Vindhyas and the southern as the Satpura. The eastern part of the

1. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 565.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

main Satpura range is known as the Mahadeo hills. In the north, the districts of Saugor (Sagar) and Damoh lie on the Vindhyan or Malwa Plateau, the southern face of which rises almost sheer from the valley of the Narmadā. The Vindhya mountain extends eastwards for a distance of about 700 miles from Gujarat in the west to Bihar in the east, taking different local names, such as Bhanrer, Kaimur, and others. The branch of the Vindhya which strikes across Bundelkhand, is known as the Panna Range. The small chain which links up the Vindhya and Satpura systems near the Amarkantak (Amarakaṇṭaka) is called the Maikal (Mekala of Sanskrit literature). It is an erosional escarpment, and presents a steep slope towards the Mahānadī basin. The Satpura also presents a steep slope towards the Tāptī river. The average elevation of the Vindhya mountain is from 1,500 to 2,000 feet, some of the peaks rising to an altitude of 5,000 feet.

This is, in a nutshell, the mountain system of Madhya Pradesh. It will be interesting to note in this connection, how it appeared to the foreign and indigenous writers, and how the names of these hills have been given after important locality in their vicinity or events which might have happened there. We often find that the same range assumes a different name after some distance, when it is associated with another important locality or event.

The Purāṇas appear to classify mountains according to their functional significance, for example, we have *Maryādā-parvata* (boundary mountain), *Varṣa-parvata* (regional mountain), *Viṣkambha-parvata* (subjacent mountain), *Kula-parvata* (clan mountain) and *Kṣudra-parvata* (small-hill)[1] According to the conception of ancient Hindu cosmographers, each of the northern and southern *Varṣas* of Jambudvīpa, the inner most of the great island-continents of the world, has its own sub-continental ranges (*Varṣa-parvata*). In this system, Himavat, the *parvata* of Bhārata-*Varṣa*, has been described as one of the three *Varṣaparvatas* lying to the south of the Meru which stands in the middle of Ilāvṛta, the centrally situated and highly elevated region (*Varṣa*) in Jambudvīpa.[2]

1. S. M. Ali, *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, p. 110.
2. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ch. 54, Pargiter, p. 275 f; *Agni Purāṇa*, chs. 107-108.

In the *Bhuvanakośa* or geographical section of the Purāṇas, besides the Himavat, a *Varṣaparvata*, we come across a list of seven mountains, which are called *Kulaparvata* or *Kulācala*.[1] The word *Kula*[2] means a family, race, country or tribe. Accordingly, Raychaudhuri[3] associates each *Kulaparvata* with a distinct people or tribe. Thus the Mahendra is associated with the Kaliṅgas,[4] the Malaya with the Pāṇḍyas,[5] the Sahya with the Aparāntas[6], the Śuktimat with the Bhallāṭas,[7] the Ṛkṣa with the people of Māhiṣmatī,[8] the Vindhya with the Āṭavyas and other forest peoples of Central India,[9] and the Pāriyātras (or Paripātra) with the Niṣādas.[10] Some of these *Kulaparvatas* can be placed in the present Madhya Pradesh.

About the indentification of the Śuktimat there are some differences of opinion among the scholars. In the opinion of Cunningham,[11] this range lies to the south of Sehoa and Kanker, and the Mahānadī (Śuktimatī according to him), Pairi and Seonath rivers issue from it. It also forms the boundary between Chhattisgarh and Bastar. Cunningham seems to have confused the Śuktimat range with the South Eastern Vindhya and the Mahendra Ranges. Beglar, too, places Mount Śuktimat in the north of the Hazaribagh District.[12]

Pargiter[13] at first tried to identify this range either with the Aravalli or with the southern portion of the Eastern Ghats; but later on he preferred to identify it with the Garo, Khasi and Tipperah hills in Eastern India beyond the Brahmaputra.[14]

1. Cf. *Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛkṣa-parvataḥ,*
Vindhyaśca Pāripātraśca saptaivātra Kulācalāḥ. (*Mārk.* 57, 10-11)
2. Vide Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Kula*.
3. *S.I.A.*, p. 96.
4. *Raghu.* VI, 53-54.
5. *Mbh.*, VIII, 20, 20-21.
6. *Raghu.* IV, 52-59.
7. *Mbh.*, II, 30, 5-7.
8. *Harivaṁśa*, *Viṣṇuparva*, 38, 19.
9. *Matsya*, 114, 46-48; *Mārk.* 57, 47.
10. *Mbh.*, XII, 135, 3-5.
11. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 24, 69.
12. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 124, 125.
13. *Mārk.* (ed. Pargiter), p. 285.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] associated this range with the Bhallāṭa people; and Pargiter, accordingly, followed the route of Bhīma's conquest in the eastern region, but overlooked the fact that Bhīma did not cross the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra).

R. C. Majumdar,[2] and R. K. Deb[3] propose to identify the Śuktimat with the Sulaiman range on the basis of the similarity of the two names, though the Sulaiman appears to be a portion of the *Varṣaparvata* Himavat.[4] C. V. Vaidya[5], on the other hand, identifies the Śuktimat range with the mountains of Kathiawar, although these are famous as the Raivataka (Raivata) mountains in literature.[6]

E. H. Johnston identifies Sardonyx of Ptolemy with the Śuktimat range; but he locates the mountain in the Bundelkhand area.[7] S. N. Majumdar, however, identifies Sardonyx with the Satpura range.[8]

Raychaudhuri following N. Das, gives a wider range to the Śuktimat mountain, and suggests that the name should be applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, 'to the Dalma hills in Manbhum drained by the Kumārī and perhaps even to the hills in the Santhal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Babla'.[9]

The great chain of mountains along the Narmadā, which separates Northern India from the Deccan is known at present by the name of the Vindhyas. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[10] refers to a prince named Bhīma designated '*Vaidarbha*' i.e. the prince of 'Vidarbha'. This indicates that the Aryans had come down below the Vindhyas and settled in Vidarbha or Berar. The Vindhya is probably mentioned as 'Dakṣiṇaparvata' in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*.[11] The epics and Purāṇas have divided this

1. *Mbh.*, II, 30, 5-7.
2. *Proc. A. I. O. C.*, 1923, pp. 609 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, ci; *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, p. 281n.
4. *Mbh.*, VI, 6, 3; *Mārk.*, 54, 24; *Kumārasambhava*, I, 1; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 37, 82; 37, 22; 37, 180.
5. C. V. Vaidya, *Epic India*, p. 276.
6. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 165.
7. *J. R. A. S.*, 1941, pp. 208-22.
8. *Ptolemy* (ed. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 76-81, 204-07.
9. *S. I. A.*, pp. 107-8.
10. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 34. 9.
11. *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, ii, 8.

range into three parts, viz., the Ṛkṣa, the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra or Pāripātra. These three *Kulaparvatas* are mentioned in the Nasik *praśasti* of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi,[1] and are also referred to by Ptolemy as the Ouxenton (Ṛkṣavant) and Ouïndion (Vindhya) ranges.[2]

The Ṛkṣa is perhaps so named because it abounded in bears (*ṛkṣas*).[3] A great confusion, however, prevails regarding the identification of the Ṛkṣa and the Vindhya mountains. In the different Purāṇas the rivers rising from one mountain are described as coming out from another and *vice versa*, owing to textual errors. Again, as a result of the close association of the Ṛkṣa with the Narmadā[4] and of the Vindhya with the Revā,[5] it is difficult to determine the relative positions of the two ranges. The *Bhāgavata*[6] and *Vāmana*[7] *Purāṇas* make distinction between the two rivers, while the *Revākhaṇḍa*[8] regards them as identical.

According to Mirashi, the Ṛkṣavat should be identified with the Satpura range as Aja had to cross it on his way to Kuṇḍinapura.[9] In the opinion of Vidyalankara, it extended to the south of the Vindhya proper and the Pāriyātra, and the rivers like Tāptī, Waingaṅga, Vaitaraṇī and others wash its foot.[10] Raychaudhuri, however, holds that the Ṛkṣa is the central part of the range lying north of the Narmadā, and that the eastern part along with the hills situated

1. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 204 n.
2. *Ptolemy*, *loc. cit.*
3. Cf. *Ṛkṣadvīpi-samākulā* (*Revākhaṇḍa*, VI, 36); and also cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 49, 76.
4. Cf. *Puraśca paścācca yathā Mahānadī taṁ Ṛkṣavantaṁ girimetya Narmadā.* (*Mbh.*, XII, 52, 32).
5. *Ṛkṣavantaṁ giriśreṣṭhamadhyāste Narmadāṁ pivan.....* (*Rām.*, *VI*, 27, 9).
Cf. *Vindhyasyāvandhyakarmmā Śikhara-taṭa-patat-pāṇḍu-Revāmbu-rāser...* (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 154); also Cf. *Mārk.*, IV, 22; and *Megha.*, I, 19.
6. *Bhāgavata*, V, 19, 17;
7. *Vāmana*, XIII, 25, 30.
8. Cf. *Kimarthaṁ Narmadā proktā Revatī ca kathaṁ smṛtā.* (*Skanda P., Revākhaṇḍa*, 5, 7); also Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1887, p253.
9. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 11.
10. *Loc. cit.*; also see translation from J. Vidyalankara's *Bharatabhumi aur uske Nivasi*, p. 63.

to the south of the Narmadā as far as the ocean, is known as the Vindhya.[1]

Ptolemy[2] describes the Ouxenton (Ṛkṣavant) as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaron and the Adamas. Raychaudhuri takes the Dosaron as the Daśārṇā (Dhasan near Sagar in Madhya Pradesh) which occurs in the list of rivers issuing from the Ṛkṣa as given in some of the Purāṇas.[3] Ptolemy again represents the Ouïndion (Vindhya) as the source of both the Namados (Narmadā) and the Nanagouna (Tāptī).[4] From this, it appears that the Ṛkṣa lay in the region of the Central Vindhyas, near Sagar, and the Vindhya proper comprised the ranges at the source of the Narmadā and Tāptī.[5]

Raychaudhuri[6] points out that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (95. 31) mentions a chief named Jyāmagha having crossed the Ṛkṣa, on his way from Narmadānūpa to the Cedi capital Śuktimatī, situated on the river of the same name identified with the Ken, a tributary of the Yamunā. The *Harivaṁśa* also mentions that Māhiṣmatī, the capital city of Narmadānūpa,[7] as situated at the feet of the Ṛkṣavat.[8] Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator, suggests that the two cities mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* (*Viṣṇuparva*)[9] lay 'north' of the Vindhya and 'south' of the Ṛkṣa. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[10] places the hermitage of Atri on the Ṛkṣa, which according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[11] was not far from the Citrakūṭa. The *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*[12] locates the Ṛkṣa between Avanti and Dakṣiṇāpatha, while it expressly associates the Vindhya with the Payoṣṇī, a river of the Tāptī group.[13] The association of the Vindhya with the

1. *S.I.A.*, p. 110.
2. *Ptolemy*, VII, i, 39-41.
3. *SI.A.*, *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ptolemy*, VII, i, 31-32 (ed. Majumdar-Sastri) pp. 102-03; also Cf. *Tāpīnāma nadī ceyaṁ Vindhyamūlād viniḥsṛtā* (Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa, 11, 108).
5. *S.I.A.*, p. 111.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *Harivaṁśa* (*Viṣṇuparva*), Ch. XXXVIII.
8. Cf. *Raghu*, VI, 37-43; also see *S.I.A.*, *loc. cit.*
9. *Harivaṁśa*, *loc.* cit.
10. *Bhāgavata*, IV, i, 14-15.
11. *Rām.*, II, 117, 5.
12. *Mbh.*, III, 61, 21.
13. Cf. *eṣa Vindhyo Mahāśailaḥ Payoṣṇī ca samudragā*, (*Mbh.*, III. 61,22).

region to the south of the Narmadā is, however, further confirmed by a popular legend according to which the Satpura implies seven folds or seven sons of the Vindhya.[1] The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana[2] seems to refer to the territory bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and the Arabian sea.

The question of inclusion of the Amarakaṇṭaka hills, the source of the Narmadā, however, remains a problem. Though Ptolemy takes it as a part of the Vindhya (Ouïndion) range,[3] the *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, with similar emphasis, describes it as a part of the Ṛkṣa.[4] It appears that the Ṛkṣa, when mentioned in literature, is connected with the middle region of the Narmadā of which Māhiṣmatī was the important city and the Daśārṇā, a famous river. The Vindhya, though the name was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills from Gujarat to the Gaya District,[5] when distinguished from the Ṛkṣa, denotes the chain lying south of the Narmadā, as suggested by Nīlakaṇṭha.

The Pāripātra or Pāriyātra is the western part of the Vindhya range together with the Aravalli. The names of the rivers[6] issuing from it, viz. Mahī, Varṇāśā or Parṇāśā (i.e. modern Banas, a tributary of the Chambal), Carmaṇvatī (i.e. modern Chambal), Śiprā, Sindhu (either a tributary of the Chambal or of the Jamuna, lying between the Chambal and the Betwa) and Vetravatī (i.e. modern Betwa), clearly indicate that it corresponds to the portion of the modern Vindhya range west of Bhopal, together with the hills of

1. *C. P. Dist. Gaz., Betul* (by Russel), 1907, p. 258; Cf. the name 'Bandah' i.e. Vindhya (Gahilgarh hill) given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 278.
2. *C. I. A.*, Vol. III, p. 154.
3. *Ptolemy, loc. cit.*,.
4. Cf. *tataḥ sa Ṛkṣaśailendrāt phenapuñjāṭṭahāsinī,*
viveśa Narmadā devī Samudraṁ saritāṁ patim.
(*Revākhaṇḍa*, V, 51).
5. Cf. The title 'Lord of the Vindhya' claimed by the medieval rulers of Rajpipla in the Broach District in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 140; and also Cf. The Barabar Cave inscription of Maukhari Anantavarman says that an image was placed in a cave of the Vindhya (i.e. the Nagarjuni hill), *C.I.I. Op. cit.*, p. 227.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 115; B. S. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

Rajputana including the Aravalli mountains, and the Pathar range, the name of which is, perhaps, the contraction of Pāriyātra.

The earliest reference to the Pāriyātra is found in the *Dharma Sūtra* of Bodhāyana,[1] where it forms the boundary line between Āryāvartta and the land of the uninitiated. In the *Mahābhārata*,[2] it has also been described as the abode of one of such tribes, as the Niṣāda, possibly of the Niṣādabhūmi i.e. Narwar, M.P.

The Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi supplies the earliest epigraphic reference to this range.[3] As noticed earlier, the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana (dated 532 A.D.) also mentions it. The Chandravalli stone inscription of Mayūraśarman (C. 330-60 A.D.) refers to the Pāriyātrikas living about the Pāriyātra.[4] The Po-li-ye-ta-lo or Pāriyātra country was ruled by a Vaiśya king in the time of Hiuen Tsang.[5]

In addition to the *Kulaparvatas*, Madhya Pradesh abounds in smaller ranges and hillocks, which are connected with the greater ranges near about them.[6] Some important ranges are discussed below.

VAIDŪRYA

The Sahya mountain has been identified with the Western Ghats. Ptolemy's Oroudian[7] has been equated with the northern portion of the Sahya range. This Oroudian is considered as equivalent to 'Vaidūrya' of Sanskrit literature, which is associated in the *Mahābhārata*[8] with the Payoṣṇī and Narmadā rivers. But both the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[9] and *Mahābhārata*[10]

1. I, i, 25.
2. *Mbh.*, XII, 135, 3-5.
3. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 203.
4. *Sel Ins.*, p. 474.
5. Po-li-ye-ta-lo possibly derived its name from the Pāriyātra range; Cf. *Harṣacarita* (Cowell and Thomas's translation), pp. 210-11, and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 4.
6. *Mārk.*, 57, 10-11; Cf. *Teṣām sahasraśo'nye bhūdharā ye samīpagāḥ.*
7. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 37 (ed. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 81-108.
8. *Mbh., III*, 121, 16-19.
9. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Ch. XIV.
10. *Mbh.*, III, Chs. 89, 120,

place the Vaidūrya near the source of the river Viśvamitrā in Gujarat. Raychaudhuri[1] suggests that it is the connecting link between the Sahya and the Southern Vindhya. Its connection with any part of Madhya Pradesh is not yet clear.

From the evidence of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Revā khaṇḍa*, however, it appears that the island of Māndhātā in the Narmadā, which contains the famous temple of Oṁkāranātha, was known as the Vaidūrya hill.[2] Agarwal takes Vaidūrya as Pāṇini's Vidurā,[3] and identifies it with the Satpura range.[4] This is supported by a verse of the *Mahābhārata*,[5] according to which the Satpura range contains Vaidūrya or beryl (cat's eye) mines.

VINDHYA-PĀDA

As Dey[6] points out, the *Varāha Purāṇa*[7] equates Mount Vindhya-pāda with the Satpura range from which the Tāptī and other rivers emerge. Dey[8] places the range between the Narmadā and the Tāptī. Kālidāsa and the Hindu geographers describe it as the 'foot of the Vindhyas'.[9]

Ptolemy makes the Ouïndion (Vindhya) as the source not only of the Namados (Narmadā) but also of the Nanagouna (Tāptī).[10] But Dey suggests on the basis of McCrindle's *Ptolemy* that the Vindhya-pāda (Satpura range) is the Mount Sardonys of Ptolemy, which contains the mines of cornelian,[11] sardian being a species of cornelian. According to a local

1. *S.I.A.*, p. 116n.
2. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 16; also Cf. *Śiva Purāṇa*, pt. I, Ch. 38; and *Bṛhat-śiva Purāṇa*, pt. II, Chs. 3, 4.
3. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 3, 84.
4. V. S. Agrawal, *India as known to Pāṇini*, 1953, p. 39.
5. *Mbh.*, III, Chs. 61, 121.
6. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 38.
7. *Varāha.*, Ch. 85.
8. *G.D.A.M.I.*, *loc. cit.*
9. B. S. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
10. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 31-32, pp. 102-103.
11. *G.D.A.M.I.*, *loc. cit.*

tradition,[1] 'Satpura' means seven sons or seven folds of the Vindhya, as already indicated.

On one of the peaks of the Satpura range, there is a big rock-cut Jaina image of the Digambara sect called 'Bawangaj' about 73 feet in height, situated on the bank of the Narmadā near Burwani, in the West Nimar District, about 100 miles from Indore.[2]

ASITA

This hill was the abode of *Yogācārya*, Asita.[3] On the basis of a literary evidence, it is sometimes placed near Ujjayinī,[4] It may thus be a spur of the Ṛkṣa mountain. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[5] the hermitages of the sages Cyavana and Kakṣasena were on the Asita mountain. But the exact location of the Asita is difficult to determine.

DEVA

It is a hill mentioned by Kālidāsa[6] as situated near the Chambal between Ujjayinī and Mandasor. Wilson identified this hill with Devagarh, which is situated in Malwa to the south of the Chambal.[7] It is possibly also known as the Devaparvata as mentioned in the *Śivapurāṇa*.[8]

DASAṆṆAKUṆḌA

This hill is described in the Jaina text, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*.[9] It is said to have been hallowed by the memory of Mahāvīra who visited it.[10]

1. *C. P. Dist. Gaz.*, *loc. cit.*
2. *J. A. S. B.*, XVII, p. 918.
3. *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 13, 39.
4. *Geographical Encyclopedia* (ed. Bajpai), 1967, p. 35.
5. *Mbh.*, III, 89, 11-12.
6. *Megha.* pt.I.
7. *Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Hall, Vol. II, p. 160.
8. *Śiva* P., I, 58.
9. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, *Jinadāsagaṇi*, 1928, p. 476.
10. *Loc. cit.*

It was situated to the north east of Dasaṇṇapura (i.e. Daśārṇa in Eastern Malwa).[1] But its exact location is not yet certain. According to some, the mountain was also called Gayaggapadagiri.[2]

PAPĀTA

As pointed out by Malalasekera,[3] this hill (*pabbata*), referred to in the various Buddhist texts, was situated in the Avanti Country. The famous city of Kuraraghara ("Osprey's haunt"), which is mentioned by the Buddhist and Jaina writers,[4] has also been placed on this hill.

It is said that Mahākaccāna, the reputed disciple of the Buddha, spent a good deal of his time in Avanti, dwelling in the Kuraraghara City on the Papāta hill.[5]

GHANASELA (Ghanaśaila)

This hill has been referred to in the *Jātaka*[6] as situated in the kingdom of Avanti in south India (Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha). Its exact location is not known.

GOPA

This was the original name of the hill on which the fortress of Gwalior was built.[7] The Gopādri is mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga (dated V.S. 1011=953-54 A.D.)[8]

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Geographical Encyclopedia* (ed. Bajpai), p. 104.
3. Malalasekera, *D.P.P.N.*, Vol. I, pp. 192-95.
4. *P.H.A.I.* p. 145.
5. Cf. *Saṁyuttanikāya*, P.T.S., Vol. III, pp. 9, 12 and IV, pp. 15-16; *Udāna Commentary* P.T.S., p. 307; and *Aṅguttaranikāya*, P.T.S., Vol. V, p. 46.
6. *Jātaka*, Vol. V, No. 133.
7. *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, p. 372.
8. Cf.....as far as the mountain called Gopa (Gopādrī).....,the Khajuraho inscription, vs. 45. See Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 124, 134.

The hill called 'Gopa' (cowherd) is also mentioned in the inscription of Paśupati.[1] Both Fazl Ali and Hiraman describe the hill as 'Gomanta'; but Cunningham[2] thinks that the name applies to the whole range.[3] A manuscript, referred to by Cunningham, also calls the fort-hill 'Mālagand'. The name recalls Firishta's account that Gwalior was founded by Malcand of Malwa. But as Firishta finds no authority for the statement, Cunningham prefers the testimony of the annalists that Gwalior was founded by a Kacwāhā Chief, named Suraj Sen, the *Rājā* of Kuntapuri, or Kutwar.[4]

According to the legend,[5] Suraj Sen was a leper. One day on a hunting expedition near the hill of Gopagiri, he felt thirsty and came to the cave of the Siddha Gwālipā, and asked for water. The hermit gave him water from his own vessel. As soon as he drank it, so goes the legend, Suraj Sen was cured of his disease. The grateful king is said to have built a fort on the hill as directed by the hermit, and enlarged the tank from which the hermit collected water. The fortress was named after the hermit Gwāliāwar, or Gwalior as it is now written. The tank was known as the Suraj Kund, after the Raja himself.

GOŚṚṄGA

The *Mahābhārata*[6] places the Gośṛṅga hill near the Niṣādabhūmi (identified with the Narwar region) between Gwalior and Jhansi. Dey[7] identifies it with the Gopādri or Gopagiri of the Gwalior region.

CETIYA

According to Cunningham,[8] Besnagar, a village 3 miles to the north of Vidisha (former Bhilsa), which was identified

1. *A. S. R.*, Vol. II, *loc. cit.*
2. The *Harivaṁśa* (Chs. 98, 99), locates it in North Kanara; the *Padma Purāṇa*, (Adi, Ch. 6), places it in Goa i.e. the Konkan; the *Mbh.* (II, Ch.14), identifies it with the Raivata in Gujarat.
3. *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, *loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Mbh.*, II, 31.
7. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 71.
8. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 95.

with the city of Vessanagara (Vessanagara may be the re-sanskritisation of the Sanskrit word Vaiśyanagara). Aśoka is believed to have halted here for some time on his way from Pāṭaliputra to Ujjayinī. Vessanagare is the name used by Buddhaghoṣa,[1] but the author of the *Mahāvaṁsa*,[2] in relating the same story, calls it 'Cetiyagiri'.

Rhys Davids identifies Cetiyagiri with Sāñcī and Vidisha, which are close to Besnagar.[3] As the name means the 'Caitya hill', Cunningham[4] suggests that it refers to the great *Stūpa* on the neighbouring hill of Sāñcī, which was certainly in existence in the time of Aśoka.[5] Maisey also identifies the Cetiya-giri with Sāñcī with its numerous *cetiyas* or *stūpas*'.[6] Sāñcī, which is situated about 5 miles south-east of Vidisha, was also known as 'Boṭa-Śrī-parvata' as found on a stone slab fixed in a monastery No. 43 in Sāñcī.[7].

Dey, however, takes it to be Besnagar, which is situated at the junction of the rivers Betwa, Bes (Besali) and Gaṅgā, the last of which is believed to flow underground.[8]

VEDISA (Vaidiśa)

As Dey points out, the *Dīpavaṁśa* identifies Vedisagiri with Vessanagara (Besnagar) in east Malwa.[9] Accordingly, Vedisagiri has been equated with Cetiyagiri, Cetiya or Cetiya-nagara of the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[10]

Malalasekera[11] identifies the Vedisagiri with a Cetiyagiri which stood at a distance of 50 *Yojanas* from Pāṭaliputra, and founded by the Śākyas who escaped Viḍūḍabha's massacre.

1. Turnour, 'Pali Annals' in *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, p. 930.
2. Turnour, *Mahāvaṁsa*, 76.
3. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 49.
4. *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, p. 37.
5. Cf. Sāñcī Edict of Aśoka, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 71.
6. Maisey, *Sanchi and its remains*, pp. 3, 5.
7. P. N. Thero, *Sanchi*, p. 1. (Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon).
8. *G. D. A. M. I.*, *loc. cit.* Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 364.
9. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 28.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
11. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 902.

Some identify the hill of Udayagiri with the ancient Vedisagiri.[1] It seems that a Buddhist *stūpa* is situated on the Udayagiri.

But the Vedisagiri, as the name implies the 'Vidisa hill' or the hill situated in Vidisa (Besnagar), is possibly to be identified with the Lohaṅgī rock (hill) at Vidisha, near the ancient Vidiśā. The Lohaṅgī rock which lost its original name, is said to have been named after Lohaṅgī Pīr, the title of Shekh Jalāl Chishtti.[2] A fair (*mela*) is held on the top of this hill (about 200 feet high) on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha (June-July), indicating a previous association with Buddhism, as that day is considered to be associated with some incidents of the Buddha's life.[3]

NĪCAIḤ

This hill is mentioned in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.[4] According to Cunningham, it is the group of the low range of hills in the former Kingdom of Bhopal, that lies to the south of Vidisha as far as Bhojapura.[5] Following Cunningham, Dey identifies it with the Bhojapura hills.[6]

Bhojapura is possibly the same as Bhojakaṭapura.[7] It contains the temple of Bhojeśvara Mahādeva and a Jaina temple. The temple of Bhojeśvara was erected in the eleventh Century A.D. Bhoja is mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* as a country about the Vindhyan range.[8]

Upadhyaya thinks that Nīcaiḥ is possibly the ancient name of the Udayagiri (hill),[9] near Vidisha. Mirashi also supports this view.[10]

1. P. T. Thero, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, p. 35.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. Cf. *Nīcairākhya*, *Megh.*, I, 26.
5. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
6. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 140.
7. *J.A.S.B.*, 1839, p. 814; 1847, p. 740; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 348.
8. Dey, *G.D.A.M.I.*, S. V. Bhojapura.
9. B. S. Upadhyaya, *loc. cit.*; In Upadhyaya's opinion, Kālidāsa seems to have referred to the caves of the Udayagiri as *Śilāveśma* (*Megh.*, I, 25).
10. MM. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, 1960, p. 13.

NICĀKṢA

This is the name of a hill mentioned in the *Devī Purāṇa*.[1] Dey takes it to be the same as the Nīcaiḥ hill which is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*.[2]

CITRAKŪṬA

It is the name of the famous hill lying 65 miles west-south-west of Allahabad.[3] This hill is situated near the Kamta village; therefore it is often called the Kamta, the true name of which is possibly, Kāmadā-giri ('hill of the donatrix of plenty')[4] Dey takes it to be the Kāmptānātha-giri in Bundelkhand (now Western part of the Rewa Division).[5]

The *Mahābhārata*[6] refers to the Citrakūṭa as situated on the bank of the river Mandākinī, and associates it with Kālañjara.[7] The *Rāmāyaṇa* places the Citrakūṭa at a distance about 2½ *Yojanas* 'in an uninhabited forest' from the hermitage of Bharadvāja which is situated near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.[8] Pargiter thinks that the Citrakūṭa could be the range of hills stretching from the river Ken within 20 miles to Allahabad, for this distance is equivalent to 2½ or 3 *Yojanas* as mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[9] It is the place where Rāma, along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, is believed to have lived for some time during his exile.[10] 'Citrakūṭa' finds mention in Prākṛt literature along with the mountain named Gopālagiri.[11] The Jaina texts refer to it as an isolated hill on the river Paisuni (Payasvinī).[12] According

1. *Devī*, Ch. 42.
2. Dey, *G.D.A.M.I.*, s.v. *Nīcākṣa*.
3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 239.
4. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 10.
5. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 50.
6. *Mbh.*, III, 85, 58-59.
7. *Ibid.*, III, 85, 56.
8. *Rām.*, II, 54, 28-30.
9. *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, *loc. cit.*
10. *Rām.*, II, 55.
11. *Bhagavatī Tīkā*, 7, 6.
12. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

to the *Bṛhat-Śiva Purāṇa*, the hermitage of Ṛṣi Gālava was on the Citrakūṭa hill.[1]

The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[2] places the Citrakūṭa in the *Dakṣiṇa* or Southern Division. The *Raghuvaṁśa*[3] places this hilly tract within the Daṇḍakāraṇya. The extent of the Daṇḍakāraṇya begins from the north of the mountain range of the Vindhyas (i.e. the southern part of Bundelkhand) and stretches as far south as the Godāvarī river. According to Upadhyaya, it may have well included the forest region of the Citrakūṭa on its northern limit.[4]

Beglar[5] identified the Citrakūṭa with the Ramgarh hill in Chhattisgarh. But it is not possible to reconcile the position of the Ramgarh hill, about 180 miles south-south-east of Prayāga, and separated by large hills and rivers, with the description given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Beglar's arguments are mainly based on the *Meghadūta* and its commentator's dictum that the Rāmagiri is the Citrakūṭa.[6] But Pargiter has rightly shown that the commentator's information is incorrect and that the Rāmagiri must be different from the Citrakūṭa.[7] Pargiter, however, suggests that the former may be identical with the Ramgarh hill where Rāma might have spent some time during his exile.[8] But the Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa has been accepted by the scholars as the modern Ramtek near Nagpur. Cunningham[9] also discarded Beglar's opinion and supports the view that the Rāmāyaṇa's Citrakūṭa is the same as the modern Citrakūṭa hill.

There are two rivers at Citrakūṭa, the Mandākinī and the Mālinī. The former has been identified by Cunningham with the Mandakin, a small tributary of the river Paisuni. Thus, we find that the two old names i.e. the Citrakūṭa and

1. *Bṛhat-Śiva Purāṇa*, I, 83.
2. XIV, 13.
3. Cf. *Raghu*, XII. 9 (*Daṇḍakāraṇya*), and 15 (*Citrakūṭa*).
4. B. S. Upadhyaya, *loc. cit.*
5. *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 42-54.
6. *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, pp. 39-40.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *A.S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-12.

the Mandākinī survive still today.[1] The Mālinī, according to Pargiter,[2] is the river Paisuni or Parsaroni on Prasravaṇa-nadī of Cunningham, who thinks that the hill of Citrakūṭa may be the same as the Prasravaṇa hill.[3] Raychaudhuri thinks, however, that Prasravaṇa hill was the general name of the mountain chains stretching from the Mandākinī and the Godāvarī to the Southern Sea.[4] The river Paisuni may also be identified with the river Citrakūṭa issuing out of Mount Ṛkṣa, which is mentioned in the Purāṇas.

KOLĀHALA

The *Mahābhārata*[5] places the Kolāhala hill in the Cedi country. Beglar identifies it with the Kawa-kal range in Bihar;[6] but Dey takes it to be the Bandair range in the south-west of former Bundelkhand in which the river Ken (ancient Śuktimatī) has its source.[7] The *Mahābhārata*[8] also associates this range with the Śuktimatī (Ken). Pargiter places it between Panna and Bijawar of the present Rewa Divison.[9] Raychaudhuri associates the Kolāhala with the Central Vindhyas.[10]

AMARAKAṆṬAKA

This has generally been identified with the Āmrakūṭa hill mentioned by Kālidāsa in *Meghadūta*.[11] We have seen

1. It is interesting to note in this connection that while depicting the *Daśaratha Jātaka* scenes, Rāma's residence at the Citrakūṭa has been presented by the sculptors of the Barhut *stūpa* relics (in the former Nagod State, M.P.) of the second century B.C.; *A. S. R. loc. cit.*
2. *J. R. A. S.*, *op. cit.* pp. 40-41.
3. *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, *loc. cit.*
4. *S. I. A.*, p. 117.
5. *Mbh.*, I. 63.
6. *A. S. R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 124.
7. Dey, *G.D.A.M.I.*, s. v. *Kolāhala-Parvata.*
8. *Mbh.*, *loc.*, *cit.*
9. *S. I. A.*, p. 118.
10. *Loc. cit.*
11. *Megh.*, I, 17; *A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 227. MM. Mirashi does not accept this identification, and on the contrary, takes Āmrakūṭa of Kālidāsa to be the hill to the north of Amarwada, the headquarters of the Amarwada *tahsil.*, MM. V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

above, while Ptolemy describes it a part of the Ouïndion (Vindhya) range, the *Skanda Purāṇa* takes it to be a part of the Ṛkṣa. Raychaudhuri[1] associates the Amarakaṇṭaka with the Central Vindhyas. It forms the eastern peak of Mekala or the Maikala range which is the connecting link between the great hill systems of the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, and stretches from Khairagarh to the Rewa region. It is the reputed source of the Narmadā, the Śoṇa and the Mahānadī.[2]

The sanctity of the Amarakaṇṭaka is described in the *Skanda Purāṇa*,[3] The first fall of the Narmadā from this hill is called Kapila-dhārā in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The *Matsya Purāṇa*[4] speaks of the superiority of the sanctity of this hill to Kurukṣetra. The *Viṣṇusaṁhitā*[5] recommends the Amarakaṇṭaka and a few other places as being very efficacious for the performance of the śrāddha ceremony. The hill contains a holy place called 'Caṇḍikātīrtha'.[6] Dey identifies the Somaparvata of the *Amarakośa* and the Surathādri of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* with the Amarakaṇṭaka range, since these hills are described as the source of the Narmadā and the Śoṇa.[7]

Pilgrims from different parts of India visit this place throughout the year. The objects of veneration at the Amarakaṇṭaka are the statues of Narmadā Māi, the various Śiva-liṅgas and statues of some Vaiṣṇava deities, while the holy *Kuṇḍa* from where the Narmadā springs, is considered to be very effective in washing away sins.[8]

There is but one temple of architectural interest, and that is the great deserted shrine called 'Karan-Mandir' which is traditionally ascribed to Karṇa *Rājā*.[9]

1. S. I. A. p. 118.
2. *Padma*, *Svargakhaṇḍa* (Ādi), Ch. 6; *S. I. A.*, *loc. cit.*
3. *Skanda Purāṇa*, (*Revākhaṇḍa*), Ch. 21.
4. *Matsya*. Chs. 22, 28; 186, 12-34.
5. *Viṣṇusaṁhitā*, Ch. 75; *G. D. A. M. I.* p. 4.
6. *Padma*, Ch. 133, 21.
7. *G. D. A. M. I.*, s.v. Amarakaṇṭaka.
8. *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, *loc. cit.*
9. *Loc cit.*

MEKALA

The Mekala of Sanskrit literature is the present Maikal range, which was evidently named after the people dwelling near about the range.[1] The present Maikal, as seen earlier, is the connecting link between the Vindhya and the Satpura, which extends from the Khairagarh area to the Rewa region. The eastern portion of this range is famous as Amarakaṇṭaka.[2] There is, however, little doubt that the Mekala is a spur of the Vindhya range. Many Purāṇas, (e.g. the *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāmana* and *Vāyu*), however, take the Amarakaṇṭaka, which is the source of the Narmadā, as a part of the Ṛkṣa mountain.[3] As seen above, Ptolemy considers the Ouïndion (Vindhya) as the source of the Namados (Narmadā).[4]

The term '*Mekala-Sutā*'[5] (i.e. the daughter of Mekala) has been used by Rājaśekhara to indicate the river Narmadā, as it rises from the Maikal range. The *Padma Purāṇa*[6] also uses the same expression. Similarly, the *Amarakośa*[7] mentions '*Mekala-kanyakā*' (i.e. the daughter of Mekala) in connection with the river Narmadā.

KAIRAMĀLĪ

As Chandrasekhar Banurji[8] points out, the Purāṇas mention the Kairamālī as the Vindhyamālī, whose summits are crowned with the shrines of the goddess *Varaṇī* under different names. Vindhyamālī is still sacred to the natives who adore it as *Dharitrī* or the earth goddess.

1. Cf. *Mekalā cotkalaiḥ saha*, mentioned in Purāṇic list of the peoples. See *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 33.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 227; *S. I. A.*, p. 118.
3. *S.I.A.*, 108-109; the Viṣṇu and Brahma Purāṇas make the Vindhya range as the source of the Narmadā. This is apparently due to error of one group.
4. Ptolemy, VII, i. 31-32, (ed. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 102-103.
5. Cf. *Nadīnāṁ Mekala-sutā*—attributed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Śūktimuktāvalī*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., IV, p. 280; Konow, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 182.
6. *Padma*, *Svargakhaṇḍa* (*Ādi*), Ch. 6.
7. Cf. *Amarakośa*; see *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 130.
8. *J. A. S. B.*, 1877, p. 16.

The wellknown Kaimur range is considered to be a corruption of Kairamālī.[1] It has been suggested that the ancient name of the country through which this chain extends was Kaira-deśa, from the *daitya* (demon) of that name known to tradition as its earliest king.[2]

This range has been placed between the Sone and Tons rivers, and considered as a part of the Vindhyan range. It commences near Kaṭāṅgi in the Jabalpur District and runs through the Rewa District and the district of Shahabad in Bihar.[3]

The *Mahābhārata*[4] mentions Kumāra-rājya, a kingdom close to Cedi. According to Dey, the corruption of *Kumāra* is Kaira and the Kairamālī, the hill of the Kaira Country, corrupted to Kaimur.[5]

PĪTA

The Pīta (i.e. yellow) hill is known as Pītādri, Pītaśaila or Pitaparvata in the inscriptions. It has been identified with the Pethill,[6] which is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of the village of Digaura in the Baldeobagh *Tahsil* of the former Orchha State, now in the Rewa Division.[7]

The Ajayagarh rock inscription of Kīrttivaraman[8] and another of Bhojavarman[9] speak of the misfortune which befell Kīrttivarman at Pītādri or Pitaśaila when one Jāluka rendered him help. This reminds one of the long drawn struggle between the Candellas and the Kalacuris. The Rewa Stone inscription of Karṇa (1060-61 A.D.)[10] shows that the Pītādri was then under the occupation of Karṇa; and Karṇa's general Vappulaka claimed to have held the sword in the valley of the yellow mountain (*Pīta-parvata-tale*), having

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Vol. I, p. 28.
4. *Mbh.*, II, 30.
5. *G.D.A.M.I.*, pp. 100, 106.
6. See the map of the Orchha State, *Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, between pp. 91-93.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 89.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 333 ff.
10. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 132.

conquered the forces of a Candella General, named Trilocana. The defeat of the Candellas is referred to in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra[1] and the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa[2].

Karṇa was, however, defeated by Kīrttivarman.[3] This is also referred to in several inscriptions.[4]

GIJA

This hill which is identified with the present Ginja hill, is known from the inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmasena* engraved on it.[5]

It is an isolated hill 800 ft. in height, which is situated near the exit of the Tons river from tne Vindhya range. It is 40 miles to the south-west of Allahabad and lies in the present Rewa Division. The hill is said to be 9 miles in circumference at the base and is similar in appearance to many of the hills about Kālañjara and Ajayagarh.[6]

In the middle of the hill at the back, there is an inscription in red paint with some rude drawings of men and animals. According to Cunningham,[7] the inscription is written in the Gupta Brāhmī alphabet in Sanskrit. The first line of the inscription mentions the name of king Bhīmasena (*mahārājasya śrī Bhīmasenasya*), and in the second line, possibly, the name of the hill Gija (..*puna Gija Ka lika bhāta*) is found.

BHRAMARA

The Chandrehe stone inscription of Prabodhaśiva[8] (dated Kalacuri 724=972 A.D.) mentions the Bhramara hill, at the foot of which Praśāntaśiva, the preceptor of Prabodhaśiva, built a hermitage. The hill is situated near the confluence of the Śoṇa and the Banas in the district of Rewa.

1. I, 6.
2. XVIII, 93.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 670 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 222, 327.
5. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. Mirashi, C.I.I. Vol. IV, pp. 198-99.

The hermitage which is now in ruins, is still called 'Bhramarasena'.[1]

VIJJALA

The Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II[2] (dated Kalacuri 910=1158 A.D.) refers to the construction of a tank near the Vijjala hill. It cannot be definitively located. Mirashi, however, thinks that it may be connected with Baijjalapur, a village in the Janjgir Tahsil of the Bilaspur District.[3]

DEVA

The Devaparvata has been mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II.[4] The inscription refers to a temple of Revanta and a deep tank near the hill which, however, cannot properly be located.

GAJASIṂHADURGA

The Singorgarh stone pillar inscription[5] (dated Saṁ. 1364=1307 A.D.) mentions the hill, on which it is engraved as Gajasiṁhadurga. This hill was named after a Pratīhāra king called Gajasiṁha. Cunningham[6] thinks that Singorgarh is derived from this name.

The hill stands 28 miles south-west of Damoh.

KĀNDĀ

The Rajim stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (1145 A.D.) mentions Kāndā-doṅgara, which has been identified with the southern portion of the former Bindra-Navagadh Zamindari, where a range of hills still goes by the name of Kānda.[7]

AŚVATTHĀMAN

The Aśvatthāmagiri has been identified with the present Asir hill, where stands the famous fort of Asirgarh. The hill

1. *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIII, p. 14.
2. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *I. C. P. B.*, pp. 55-56.
6. *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 49-50.
7. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 453

was known from the name of *Ṛṣi* Aśvatthāman, whose shrine was extant, as Abū'l Fazal points out, when the Farukhī Kings took it from the Hindus.[1] Forsyth suggests that the Hindus took the hill for defensive purposes from its aboriginal inhabitants.[2] Cunningham observes that the spoken form of 'Asthāmgir' or 'Asthamgir' was derived from 'Aśvatthāmagiri', and gradually it was further shortened to 'Asir'.[3]

According to a local tradition, it was named after Asa Gauli. Firishta, as pointed out by Cunningham, however, makes Asa on Ahir with the explicit motive of deriving Asir from Asa Ahir.[4]

It is an isolated hill of the Satpura range, about 12 miles north of Burhanpur.

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by her Historians*, Vol. VI, p. 144.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 121.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

CHAPTER IV

RIVER SYSTEM

MADHYA PRADESH has a large number of rivers and innumerable rivulets. The small streams are usually tributaries and branches of big rivers. Sometimes, after issuing from the mountains, the streams empty their waters into a big river in its lower course. To the north of the Vindhya range extends the lava plateau in Madhya Pradesh with a general northward slope. As a result, most of the streams of importance, except the Sone, rise in this range and flow northwards till they ultimately join the Ganges-Jamuna water system. Of these, the *Betwa*, *Chambal*, *Kalisindh*, *Mahī*, *Pārvatī*, *Sindh* and *Śiprā* are in the west, and the *Dhasan*, *Ken* and *Tons* in the east. The Maikal range is the reputed source of a few important rivers, of which the *Narmadā* flows in a south-westerly direction till it falls into the sea below Broach; and among others, reference may be made to the *Sone* and also, perhaps, the *Mahānadī*.

South-Eastern Madhya Pradesh, which formed a considerable part of the former Central Provinces, lies in the catchment basin of three rivers, viz., the *Narmadā*, *Godāvarī* and *Mahānadī*. Though the *Godāvarī* does not run through the present Madhya Pradesh, its tributaries, like the *Indrāvatī*, drain a good portion of the Bastar region.

It is interesting to note that the *Revā* is the only river of Madhya Pradesh that finds mention in the Vedic literature.[1] It has been identified with the *Narmadā* in the post-Vedic literature.[2] Ancient writers sometime associate the Narmadā

1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xii, 8, 1, 17; 9, 3, 1; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 273n.
2. D. C. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p.17. Raychaudhuri suggests that the *Bhāgavata* (5, 19, 17) and *Vāmana Purānas* (xiii, 25-30) make a distinction between the Narmadā and the Revā, but the Revākhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa when read along with the few incidental references occurring in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa itself, leaves no room for doubting that the two rivers are one and the same. cf. *praviśya Revām agamad yatra Māhiṣmatīpurī* (*Bhāg.*, x. 79). In the *Harivaṁśa* (*Viṣṇuparva*, 38.14f.) Narmadā is the name of the river which flows past Māhiṣmatī.

with the *Ṛkṣa*,[1] and the Revā with the Vindhya.[2] Many Purāṇas like the *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāmana* and *Vāyu* represent the Ṛkṣa as the source of the *Narmadā*, *Daśārṇā*, and others, and the Vindhya as that of the *Tāpī*, *Payoṣṇī* and *Nirvindhyā*.[3] Of course, it is generally believed that the Purāṇic chroniclers have divided the Vindhya range into three parts, viz., the *Ṛkṣa*, the *Vindhya* and the *Pāriyātra* (Pāripātra).

Ptolemy[4] mentions the *Ouxenton* (Ṛkṣavant) as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaran (the *Daśārṇā* or *Dhasan* near Sagar)[5] and the Adamas, and the *Ouïndion* (Vindhya) as the source of the *Namados* (Narmadā) and the *Nanagouna* (Tāptī).[6]

The Purāṇas[7] often enumerate the rivers as rising from the various mountain ranges. Of these rivers, the following may be located in the present Madhya Pradesh.

A. From the *Pāriyātra* (*Pāripātra*).

1. *Vedasmṛti*

Besides the (Purāṇas), the *Bhīṣma-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*[8] and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[9] also mention the river Vedasmṛti. The river has been identified with the modern Besula in Malwa, which is a tributary of the Sindh.[10] Ali[11] identifies

1. Cf. *Ṛkṣavantaṁ giriśreṣṭha-madhyāste Narmadāṁ pivan* (*Rām*, VI, 27, 9); *puraśca paścācca yathā Mahānadī, taṁ Ṛkṣavantaṁ girimetya Narmadā* (*Mbh.*, XII, 52, 32); also *Raghu*, V. 42-44.

2. Cf. *Vindhyasyehāgato ramyaṁ Revāvāri-kaṇokṣitam* (*Mārk.* p., IV, 22); *Revāṁ drakṣyasyupalaviṣame Vindhyapāde viśīrṇam* (*Megh.*, I, 19), also the Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman, *C.I.I.* Vol. III, p. 154.

3. *S. I. A.*, p. 109. The *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma Purāṇas*, apparently through mistake, reverse the order regarding the sources of the Narmadā and Tāpī groups of rivers mentioned in the majority of the Purāṇas.

4. Ptolemy, VII, i, 39-41.

5. *S. I. A.*, p. 110.

6. Ptolemy, VII, i, 31-32 (ed. Majumdar-Sastri) pp. 102-103.

7. For the Purāṇic list of rivers, see the original passages in D. C. Sircar's *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 45-51.

8. *Mbh.*, VI, 9.

9. *Bṛhat.*, XVI, 31.

10. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 45n.

11. S. M. Ali, *Loc. cit.*

it with the present Banas (Sanskrit Varṇāśā, a western tributary of the Chambal. Dey[1] takes it to be the Vedaśruti of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the Vedaśruti does not find mention in the list of rivers described in the *Bhīṣma-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, nor does it appear in any of the Purāṇas. Partgiter[2] places the Vedaśruti in U.P.

2. *Sindhu*

The river Sindhu is generally believed to be identical with the river Kalisindh, a tributary of the Chambal. The *Mahābhārata*[3] possibly refers to it as the Dakṣiṇa-Sindhu, and the *Meghadūta*[4] simply as Sindhu as the river is called in the Purāṇas. The *Varāha Purāṇa*[5] mentions the Sindhuparṇā as another name of the Dakṣiṇa sindhu; but Dey takes it to be an erroneous combination of the names Sindhu and *Parṇāśā*.[6]

Evidently, at a later period the Sindhu came to be known as Kalisindh which does not appear in literature. Sircar[7] thinks that Gargarā, mentioned in the Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman, is the ancient name of the modern Kalisindh. However, besides the Kalisindh, we have another Sindh in Malwa itself, and it is one of the large rivers of Madhya Pradesh. It takes its rise from a tank, 1780 ft. above the sea-level, situated in the village of Nainwas in the Sironj Tahsil of the Vidisha District. It flows in a north-easterly direction for about 150 miles through the Malwa region till it enters Uttar Pradesh, and joins the Jamuna.

Dey[8] thinks that the river Sandhyā of the *Mahābhārata*[9]

1. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 28; cf. *Rām.*, II, 49.

2. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions that from Kośala Rāma crossed the great river (*Mahānadī*) Vedaśruti, and according to Pargiter it may be identified with the modern Chauka, the Western tributary of the Sarayū; *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, pp. 231-45. Lassen calls it the Kali; *loc. cit.*

3. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 82.

4. *Megh.*, I, 30.

5. *Varāha*, ch. 85.

6. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 186.

7. *Sel.Ins.*, p. 403, note 5.

8. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 176.

9. *Mbh.*, II, 9, (ed. R.K. Roy), p. 282n.

is identical with the Sindh. A river called Sindhu mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, together with the *Daśārṇā* (Dhasan), has been identified with the Sindh.[1] Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava* refers to the Sindhu while describing the city of Padmāvatī standing on the Sindhu (Sindh).[2] Padmāvatī has been identified with modern Padam Pawaya 25 miles north-east of Narwar[3], and the Sindhu with the river Sindh. The Sindh is initially a small river, but begins to get widened near Narwar and develops rapidly into a large river.[4]

Bhavabhūti mentions a few tributaries of the Sindhu, viz., the Lavaṇā (Lūn or Nūn-nadī), Madhumatī (Mohwar or Madhuwar) and Pārā (or, Pārvatī)[5].

The *Devī Purāṇa*[6] mentions the river Pūrva Sindhu, which has been identified by Dey with the river Sindhu (Sindh). According to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, prince Vasumitra, while proceeding along with the sacrificial horse of his grandfather Puṣyamitra, came into conflict with the Yavanas and defeated them on bank of the Sindhu. Raychaudhuri[7] identifies the Sindhu with the present Sindh, although Sircar[8] takes it to be the river Indus.

The Seondha fort, which is known as Sondhi in the Charkhari plate (V.S. 1311), and is now called Kanhagarh, stood on the bank of the river Sindh in the Datia District.[9]

3. *Mahī*

This is also known as Mahatī (*Vāyu Purāṇa*).[10]

1. *I. G. I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 432.
2. Cf. *Mālatīmādhava*, Act IV, IX; see Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, vol.II, p. 95.
3. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), p. 300; *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, pp. 101 ff. Earlier, Cunningham (*A.S.R.*, 1864-65, pp. 307-08), identified Padmāvatī with Narwar.
4. *I. G. I.*, XXII *loc. cit.* This justified the establishment of the great city of Padmāvatī, which is in consonance with the principles of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. For the *Arthaśāstra* recommends the building up of fortified capitals at the confluence of rivers or by the side of deep pools of perennial waters; *S. I. A.*, p. 122.
5. *A. S. R.*, *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. *Devī P.*, ch. 39, 5; and see *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 186.
7. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 393.
8. *A. M. V. T.*, p. 61.
9. S. K. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 135.
10. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 45n; Other readings are Manoramā (*Kūrma*) and Madī (*Vāyu*). 'Madī' perhaps a wrong reading for 'Mahī'.

The Mahī has been identified with the river of the same name rising in Malwa and draining itself into the Gulf of Cambay.[1] The Buddhist texts refer to another Mahī which is a tributary of the Gaṇḍak.[2]

The present river originates from the hilly division (Amjhera) of the former Gwalior State, 1850 ft. above the sea-level and flows for about 100 miles through the south-west corner of Madhya Pradesh, passing through the former Gwalior, Dhar, Jhabua, Ratlam and Sailana States. Then it enters Rajasthan, and afterwards passes into Gujarat and falls into the Gulf of Cambay. The Mahī was the Mais of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy mentions it as Mophis.[3]

The name of the river seems to be derived from the lake from which it springs. This is often called the Mau or Mahu, as well as the Menda.[4]

There are several legends[5] connected with the origin of this river. According to one such, the Mahi is the daughter of the Earth and of the sweat of Indradyumna, king of Ujjain. Another legend relates that a young Gujar woman in order to get rid of her from the gazes of her passionate and importunate lover, threw herself into the pot in which she was churning curds. She was at once turned into water, and clear stream began to flow from the jar, and wandering down the hill-side, she formed the Mahi or 'Curds' river.

Words like *Mehwas*, a hill stronghold, and *Mehwasī*, a turbulent person, originated from the name of this river. Thus, the word *Mahīvāsī*, 'dweller of the Mahī', was used by the Muslim writers to denote hill chiefs in general and those living in remote mountainous regions.[6]

4. *Pārā*

The river has been mentioned in most of the Purāṇas and also in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[7] The *Mālatīmādhava*[8] refers to it,

1. *S. G. A. M. I.*, *loc. cit.*
2. *Suttanipāta*, 1.2; Trenckner's *Milindapañha*, p. 114.
3. *I. G. I.*, vol. XVII, pp. 10-12.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *Bṛhat.*, xvi, 10.
8. Act, ix; see Wilson, *loc. cit.*

which after winding to the north of Narwar, falls into the Sindhu (Sindh) near Vijaynagara.[1] Cunningham identifies the *Pārā* with the *Pārvatī*, which flows only 5 miles to the north of the Sindhu and on which stood the ancient city of *Padmāvatī* mentioned in the drama.[2] *Padmāvatī* (Padam Pawaya-near Narwar) was situated 'in the apex on the confluence of the *Sindhu* and *Pārā*.'[3]

But, *Sircar* identifies the *Pārā* of the Purāṇas[4] with *Pārvatī*, a tributary of the *Chambal*. It rises in the *Bhopal* Division and flows northwards through Bhopal, *Gwalior*, *Narsingpur*, (Narsimhapur) and *Rajgarh* of Madhya Pradesh, till it passes into Rajasthan. Ultimately it falls into the Chambal at Pali-ghat, (25°51′ N. and 70°37′ E) near Kotah.

The *Pārvatī* that flows into the Chambal is, according to *Thronton*, the Western Pārvatī, while the other, referred to in the *Mālatīmādhava*, is the Eastern Pārvatī.[5]

5. *Carmaṇvatī*

This is identified with the modern Chambal, one of the chief tributaries of the Jamuna.

Pāṇini[6] refers to one Carmaṇvatī river, the location of which is not certain, Agarwal, however, identifies it with the Chambal.[7] The *Mahābhārata*[8] explains the name *Carmaṇvatī*, as the rivulet which was originated from the skin (*carman*) of the sacrificed cows, i.e. from the blood oozing from the skins of the cows. A large number of cows are said to have been slaughtered at the *yajña* (sacrificial ceremony) of Rantideva. The *Mahābhārata* informs us that the river formed the southern boundary of the *Pañcāla* territory.[9] It has also been referred to in the *Meghadūta*.[10]

1. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Pūrva*, ch. 48; see Dey s.v. *Pārā*.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol.II, p. 308.
3. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 480-81.
4. *S.G. A. M. I.*, p. 46n.
5. Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v. Parbutty and Sinde.
6. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, VIII, 2, 12.
7. V. S. Agrawal, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 47.
8. *Mbh.* VII, ch. 67.
9. *Mbh.*, I, ch. 140.
10. *Megh.*, I, 46.

P. V. Kane[1] mentions *Mhow* as its source, while Sircar[2] says that *Mhow* is the source of the river *Avantī*, which ultimately flows into the *Chambal* itself. Others think that the river rises in an elevated point (2,019 ft. above sea-level) of the Vindhya, called *Janapava* (*Janapao*), about 9 miles south-west of Mhow in the Indore Division.[3] Dey[4] points out that the hill has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, viz., the *Chambal*, the *Chambela* and the *Gambhīra*. The river, afterwards, flows down the northern slopes of the Vindhyan range, and enters Rajasthan at a point, 195 miles from its source.

Carmaṇvati is fed by a large number of tributaries, both large and small. Among these, the *Kalisindh* joins it from the south, and the *Mej* and *Banas* from the west, and lower down at the frontiers of Jaipur, Kotah and Gwalior the *Pārvatī* flows into it. The *Chambal*, thus forms the boundary between Rajasthan and the old Gwalior State in M.P. Later on, the river passes through Uttar Pradesh where it ultimately joins the *Jamuna*.

The confluence of the river Banas with the Chambal is known as *Rāmeśvara-saṅgama*,[5] which is regarded as a holy place. The Chambal is a sacred river. Raychaudhuri points out that the *Anuśāsana-parvan* characterises the *Gaṅgā* as *devanadī*, the *Ṛṣikulyā* as *medhyā* and the Carmaṇvatī as *puṇyā*.[6]

6. *Vidiśā*

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, we find *Viduṣā* which is a wrong reading for *Vidiśā*.[7]

The river *Vidiśā* is identified with the modern *Bes* or *Besali* which flows into the *Betwa* near *Besnagar* (ancient *Vidiśā-nagarī*).[8] Besnagar is situated in the fork between the two rivers, viz., the *Betwa* and the *Bes*. The two rivers flow almost side by side for a mile towards the east, when the Betwa

1. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. IV, p. 743.
2. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 46n.
3. *I. G. I.*, vol. X, pp. 134-35; Sircar also supports the view. See *S. G. A. M. I.*, *loc. cit.*
4. *G. D. A. M. I.*, s.v. Carmaṇvati.
5. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 167.
6. *S. I. A.*, p. 122.
7. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 46n.
8. Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. II, p. 150.

turns sharply to the north for half a mile till it meets the Bes. The point of junction is named Triveṇī, or the meeting of three streams, the third being, according to Cunningham,[1] only a small branch of the Betwa, called *Chokrel* or *Choprel*. Besnagar is thus enclosed on three sides, by the rivers Betwa and Bes.

The name of the river Bes or Besali is evidently derived from Besnagar which seems to be derived directly from *Vessanagara* noticed by *Buddhaghoṣa*.[2]

7. *Vetravatī*

The *Matsya* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* give the reading *Veṇumatī* for Vetravati[3] The river Vetravatī has been mentioned by Kālidāsa in *Meghadūta*[4] and also by Varāhamihira[5].

Literally, Vetravatī means 'containing canes'. It has been identified with the modern Betwa, joining the *Jamuna* near Hamirpur, U.P. It rises at the village of *Kumri* (22°55′ N. and 77°43′ E) in the Bhopal Division and flows in a north-easterly direction passing by the ancient city of Vidiśā (Besnagar).[6]

The rivers Bes and *Dhasan* are among the important tributaries of the Betwa. A small branch of the Betwa, named Chokrel or Choprel, separates from the main stream about 1,000 ft. above the Triveṇī, near Besnagar, and rejoins it at about 1,500 ft. below the junction. On the western bank of the Betwa, nearly half a mile above the Triveṇī, lies the Caraṇa-Tīrtha, a famous place of pilgrimage. Here two small hollows in the rocks are believed to be *Caraṇa* or foot-prints of Viṣṇu.[7] According to another tradition, the Pāṇḍavas fought with the king of Vidiśā on the banks of the Vetravatī (Betwa).[8]

1. *A. S. R.*, vol. X, p. 36 and plate No. XII.
2. Turnour, *Pali Annals in Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII., p. 930.
3. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 46n.
4. *Megh.*, I, 25.
5. Cf. *Bṛhat.*, XVI. 9.
6. *I. G. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 17.
7. *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, plate no. XII.
8. *I. G. I.*, *loc. cit.*

The *Kādambarī* of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa* associates *Mālava* ladies with the Vetravatī, surrounding Vidiśā.[1]

8. *Śiprā*

It is also called *Kṣiprā* (*Mārkaṇḍeya*)[2], and is famous for the sanctity associated with it. Kālidāsa refers to the river *Śiprā* on the bank of which stood the celebrated city of *Ujjayinī* (Ujjain).[3] The river has also been mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*.[4]

The antiquity of the river is proved by the recent discovery of a massive rampart with a moat in the old city of Ujjayinī, which may be assigned to C.750 B.C. The moat, connected with the river Śiprā, runs along the southern and eastern side, being surrounded on the north and west by the river itself.[5]

The river rises in Malwa from the Kakri Bardi hill, 12 miles south-east of Indore near the small village of Ujeni (22°31′N. and 76′E).[6] The stream flows in a north-westerly direction, and 54 miles from its source, winds past the sacred city of Ujjayinī, and ultimately, after a total course of 120 miles through the different regions of Madhya Pradesh, it enters the Chambal near the village of Kalu-Kheri (23°53′ N. and 75°31′E).[7]

The river is dotted with sacred spots, reputed haunts of the hermits, and scenes of miraculous events, around which a whole cycle of legends have been developed. According to one such legend,[8] the river had been originated from the blood of Viṣṇu. In the time of Abū'l Fazl, it was believed that on certain periods the river used to flow with milk.[9]

It is fed by two affluents, viz., the Khan and the Gambhīrā. The Gambhīrā has been mentioned by Kālidāsa in his

1. *Kādambarī* (ed. Siddhānta Vāgiśa), pp. 19, 183.
2. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 46n; the *Vāmana* P. gives the reading *Citrā*.
3. Law, *The Rivers of India*, p. 40.
4. *Bṛhat*, XVI, 9.
5. B. N. Puri, *Cities of Ancient India*, p. 120.
6. *I. G. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14-15.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Loc. cit.*

Meghadūta,[1] which also speaks of another small branch of the Śiprā, viz., the Gandhavatī, on which stood the famous temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī.[2]

9. *Avantī*

Avarṇī mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[3] is probably a wrong reading for Avantī.

Some scholars take the river Avantī as identical with the Śiprā.[4] But Sircar identifies it with the river that rises in Mhow in the Indore Division,[5] and flows in a north-westerly-direction and finally empties itself into the Chambal.

10. *Kuntī*

The name of Kuntī appears in the *Matsya Purāṇa*[6] and the *Mahābhārata*.[7] Dey[8] identifies it with a small stream called Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[9] It joins the river Chambal.

The town of Kuntibhoja, also called Bhoja, was situated on the bank of the Aśvarathanadī in Malwa.[10] According to the *Mahābhārata*, Kuntī, the mother of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers, was brought up by her adoptive father Kuntibhoja.[11] The river Kuntī was probably named after Kuntibhoja, the adoptive father of Kuntī, the queen of *Pāṇḍu*. It is said tnat Kuntī, while a virgin, gave birth to Karṇa here, and that to hide her shame, threw her newly born babe in a wooden box in this river.[12]

1. *Megh.*, I, 42.
2. *Ibid.*, 34.
3. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 46n.; We get *Oghavatī* in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.
4. *G. D. A. M. I.*, p. 14: and *I.G.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 14.
5. *S. G. A. M. I.*, *loc. cit.*; *Geo.Pur.*, p. 117.
6. *S. G. A. M. I.*, *loc. cit.*
7. *Mbh.*, VI, ch. 9, IV, ch. I.
8. Dey, *G. D. A. M. I.* s.v. Kuntī-Bhoja; Sircar supports Dey. See *S. G. A. M. I.*, *loc. cit.*
9. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 306; and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. 10, v.15.
10. *Mbh.*, *loc. cit*; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, *loc. cit.*
11. *Mbh.*, I, ch. III, 112.
12. *Ibid.*, III, ch. 30, 22.

B. From the *Ṛkṣavat*

1. *Śoṇa*

The Śoṇa or Sone is the celebrated river which rises near the source of the Narmadā at the Amarakaṇṭaka in the Maikal range.[1] Its source is located on the hill, which is called Śoṇabhadra or Śoṇamuṇḍā between Pendra and Kenda.[2] It flows through the Bilaspur and Rewa regions of Madhya Pradesh, and leaves the border of the State after course of 288 miles, and ultimately drains itself into the Ganges near Patna.

The Śoṇa is a large and one of the few masculine rivers (*nada*) of India. It is very often mentioned in Indian literature, e.g. in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other works.[3] Most of the Purāṇas mention the river, while Kālidāsa refers to the big waves of the Śoṇa near its junction with the Gaṅgā (Ganges).[4] It also appears in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[5]

The Śoṇa possesses great sanctity. It is generally believed that performance of *Sandhyā* (daily worship) on it bank ensures the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhmaṇa.[6] Regarding the origin of the river, there are numerous legends; one of them is that as Narmadā and Śoṇa both originated out of two drops of tears fallen from Brahmā, on either side of the Amarakaṇṭaka range.[7]

Śoṇa has a number of affluents, out of which a few are located in Madhya Pradesh. The Johilla joins it at Barwala, the Gopat near Bardi, and the Banas at 23°17′N and 81°31′E. The *Mahābhārata*[8] mentions Jyotīrathā as a tributary of the Śoṇa. Pargiter identifies it with the Johilla, the southern of the two sources of the Śoṇa.[9]

1. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 47 note.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 236.
3. *I. G. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 76.
4. *Raghu*, VII, 36.
5. *Bṛhat.*, V, 65, XVI, 1.
6. *I.G.I.*, *loc. cit.*
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 85.
9. *Mārk.*, ch. 57 (ed.Pargiter), p. 296.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] refers to the Śoṇa and Mahāśoṇa among the rivers crossed by the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa on their way to Rājagṛha. They may be two streams of the same river. In the *Amarakośa*, it is called Hiraṇyavāha, perhaps in view of its golden coloured sand or owing to the presence of gold dust in its water. Beglar identifies the Hiraṇyavāha with the Gaṇḍakī.[2] But the *Harṣacarita*[3] shows that the Hiraṇyavāha is another name of the Śoṇa. The *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*[4] also confirms this identification.

The Arang (Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh) plates of Bhīmasena II (dated 282 G.E.—601 A.D.)[5] refers to the Suvarṇanadī river, which has been identified with the Hiraṇyavāha or Hiraṇyavāhī, i.e. the modern Sone.

The Greek geographers mention a river named Erannoboas, which has been regarded as a corruption of *Hiraṇyavāha*.[6] Megasthenes tells us that Pāṭaliputra was on the banks of the Ganges and 'the Erannoboas would be third of the Indian rivers.'[7] Ptolemy refers to a river Soa which may be identical with Śoṇa or Sone.[8]

2. *Mahānadī*

The Mahānadī[9] (literally 'the great river') is a large river in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The river finds its mention in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[10]. Sircar[11] places its origin in the Amarakaṇṭaka range, while the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* states that

1. *Mbh.*, II, 20, 27-29.
2. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 6-33.
3. *Harṣacarita*, p. 19.
4. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV, 156.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX.
6. *I.G.I.*, XXIII, p. 78.
7. *Indika*, Arrian X. R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Acounts of India*, 1960, pp. 221-2. Cf. *Anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputraṁ, Mahābhāṣya of* Patañjali, II, I, 2. It may be mentioned here that though the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra stood at the junction of the Śoṇa and the Gaṅgā, Śoṇa afterwards gradually changed its lower course, and at present it drains itself into the Ganges about 25 miles to the west of Patna (i.e. ancient Pāṭaliputra).
8. Ptolemy, *Ancient India*, VII, 28. (ed. McCrindle), p. 99.
9. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* calls it Mahānandā; vide *Geo. Pur.*, p. 118.
10. *Bṛhat*, XVI, 10.
11. S. G. A M. I. p. 47 n.

the river rises from a pool near the village of Sihawa in the Raipur District (20°9′N and 81°58′E).[1]

The river flows to the north and drains at the eastern portion of Raipur. On entering the Bilaspur District, a little above Seorinarayan, it receives the waters of its first great affluent, the Seonath, which is a more important river in Raipur than the Mahānadī itself. The Mahānadī flows in an easterly direction through Bilaspur, and enters Sambalpur (in Orissa).

Of the other tributaries of the Mahānadī, mention may be made to the Hastisomā (Hasta or Heshto)[2] and Pretoddhāriṇī (Pairi). Utpaleśvara is the name of the portion of the Mahānadī in M. P. before its junction with the Pairi, the other portion below the junction being known as Citrotpalā.[3]

At the junction of the Mahānadī and Pretoddhāriṇī stood the famous town of Devapura, which is identified with the modern city of Rajim or Raju.[4] Rajim is 24 miles south-east of the town of Raipur. This place is said to have been visited by Rāmacandra (Rājīvalocana; Rājīva—Rājim) to save his brother Śatrughna from the jaws of death.[5] The temple of Rāmacandra contains an inscription of the seventh century A.D. The Kuleśvara temple inscription (ninth century A.D.)[6] found at Rajim refers to the Śrī-Saṅgama which is the name of the confluence of the Pairi and the Mahānadi.[7]

3. *Narmadā*

The Narmadā, popularly known as Narbadā (Nerbuddā), rises from the Amarakaṇṭaka range and falls into the Arabian

1. Vol. XXII, p. 430.
2. *Padma P., Svarga (Ādi)*, ch. 3.
3. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV; see Beglar, *A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 155.
4. *G.D.A.M.I.*, pp. 55, 160.
5. *Padma P., pātāla*, ch 27, vs. 58-59.
6. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVIIp. 8.
7. The Kurud plate of Narendra (year 24) mentions a river named Gaṅgā, which has been identified with the Mahānadī by M. G. Dikshit who edited the inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol.XXXI, pp. 263ff. M. G. Dikshit thinks that a river is sometimes called Gaṅgā on account of its sanctity, e.g. the Godāvarī has been styled as Gaṅgā in an inscription, see *Ind. Ant.*, 207 XIV, pp. 317-18). Sircar (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 266 ff), however, rejects the view of Dikshit and rightly identifies the Gaṅgā of the record with the famous river Gaṅgā (i.e. Ganges).

Sea. It is also called Revā.[1] We have already seen that Revā was identified with the Narmadā in post-Vedic literature.[2]

The name of Revā, which has probably been derived from the Sanskrit root *rev* 'to hop' owing to the leaping of the stream down its rocky bed has been mentioned in the Purāṇas including the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,[3] works like the *Meghadūta*[4] and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[5] and epigraphs like the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana.[6]

The *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] and *Mahābhārata*[8] mention Narmadā as coming out of the Ṛkṣa mountain. The *Raghuvaṁśa*[9] also contains a similar reference. The *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāmana* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* make Ṛkṣa the source of the Narmadā group of rivers.[10] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[11] also refers to the river Narmadā more than once.

The Narmadā is also known by a few other names as follows:—

(*a*) Dakṣiṇagaṅgā mentioned in Skanda Purāṇa;[12]
(*b*) Indujā;[13]
(*c*) Pūrvagaṅgā;[14]
(*d*) Mekalādrijā;[15]
(*e*) Mekalasutā,[16] or Mekalakanyakā (*Amarakośa*), possibly

1. The earliest reference to the Revā may be found in *Śat. Br.*, XII, 8, 1, 17; 9, 3, 1
2. See *Supra* p.83 fn. 2.
3. *Mārk.*, IV, 22.
4. *Megh.*, I, 19.
5. *Bṛhat.*, XII, 6.
6. *Fleet.*, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 154.
7. *Rām.*, *Laṅk.*, 27, 9.
8. *Mbh.*, XII, 52, 32.
9. *Raghu.*, V. 42-44.
10. *S. I. A.*, p. 109; The *Viṣṇu and Brahma Purāṇas* make the Vindhya the source of Narmadā and Daśārṇā. This is evidently due to the mistake of one of the two groups.
11. *Bṛhat.*, XVI, 1, 9; V, 64.
12. *Skanda P.*, *Revā-Khaṇḍa*, Ch.4.
13. Cf. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Ch. IV; see Sircar *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 104, No. 52.
14. *Loc. cit.*
15. *Loc. cit.*
16. Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, (ed. Konow) p. 182; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 280.

owing to its association with the Amarakaṇṭaka which is a spur of the Mekala range; aud

(*f*) Somabhavā.[1]

It is the Nammadios of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.[2] Ptolemy mentions that the Ouïndion (Vindhya) is the source of the Naomados (Narmadā).[3]

The portion of the river near its source issuing from the Western part of the sacred *Kuṇḍa*, is called Kapilā. Here the Narmadā is joined by the Sāvitrī Nālā,[4] which is considered to be the real sonrce of the Narmadā itself. Near the source of the Narmadā, there is one sacred spot known as Rudrakoṭi which is mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa*.[5] The river flows for about two miles from its source and falls down a precipice of some 70 ft. into what is called Kapiladhārā.[6] Then it flows in a north-westerly direction down to the neighbourhood of Jabalpur, from where it takes a sharp turn towards the south-west. Beyond Māndhātā, where the famous temple of Oṁkāranātha is situated, the river passes the city of Maheśvara (Śūlī-Maheśvara)[7] on its left. On the opposite side of Oṁkāranātha, on the southern bank of the river, stands the shrine of Amareśvara. The Kapilā-saṅgama also is near this shrine.[8] Maheśvara is identified by some scholars as the ancient city of Māhiṣmatī, once the capital of Avanti-Dakṣināpatha.[9] Maheśvara was the old capital of the Holkar family. This place, particularly the northern bank of the river, is studded

1. Cf. *Vaijayantī*, chs. III-IV; See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 105, VI-No. 2.
2. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (trans. Schoff), p. 175.
3. Ptolemy, VII, I, 31-32, pp. 102-103.
4. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 234.
5. *Padma P.*, *Svarga*, *Ādi*, ch. 6.
6. *Ibid.*, ch. 22, Cousen's *Archaeological Survey List of the Central Provinces*, p. 59.
7. *Matsya*, ch. 189; *Sthavirāvalicarita*, XII.
8. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 90; the Māndhāta Plate of Jayavarman II refers to the Kapilā-saṅgama at the confluence of the Revā and the Kapilā near about the Amareśvara-kṣetra where Oṁkāranātha is the presiding deity, near the old city Māhiṣmatī, 32 miles from Khandwa.
9. D. R. Bhandarkar, Lectures on the *Ancient History of India*, pp. 45. 54.

with temples, palaces and bathing *ghāts*, many of which are said to have been built by the famous Ahalyā Bāi whose mausoleum is here.[1]

Among the important tributaries of the river, the Banjar in Mandla, the Sher and Shakkar in Narsingpur (Narsimhapur), and the Tawa, Ganjal and Chhota Tawa in Hoshangabad are well known. The Hiran, another tributary, flows beneath the Vindhya hill near Jabalpur. Most of these rivers have a short and precipitous course from the hills.

The *Kūrma Purāṇa*[2] mentions other affluents of the Narmadā, viz., Viśalyā and Ikṣu, the identity of which has not yet been established. The *Padma Purāṇa*[3] also mentions Kubjā as another tributary of the Narmadā. About 6 miles from Tewar and 2 miles from Karanbel, there is a famous bathing place on the Narmadā, called Bheraghat, which is situated at the confluence of the Narmadā and another small river, which winds round the ruins of Karanbel and is called the Banganga, though at its junction with the Narmadā, it is known as the Sarasvatī (Sarsuti).[4] A stone inscription of queen Alhaṇadevī, widow of Gayākarṇadeva, of the Cedi year 907, was found at this place.[5]

There are many traditions regarding the origin of the Narmadā. According to one, as recorded by Beglar,[6] Narmadā was the name of the beautiful daughter of a shepherd living at the Amarkaṇṭaka. She used to carry her father's breakfast to him in the fields where he tended his cattle. On her way to, or back from her father, the girl spent some time daily in a

1. *I.G.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 375-76.
2. *Kūrma P*, pt. II, ch. 39; *G.D.A.M.I.*, pp. 39, 77.
3. *Padma P.*, *Bhūmi*, ch. 63.
4. *A.S.R.* Vol. IX, p. 60.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 7 ff; *A.S.R.*, IX, pp. 90-94.
Among some other inscriptions mentioning the name of the Narmadā or Revā, the following may be noticed:
(i) The Kumbhi copper plate inscription of Kalacuri Vijayasiṁha (1180 A.D.), *J.B.A.S.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 111ff.
(ii) The Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta (485 A.D.) Fleet , *C.I.I.*, Vol.III, pp. 88 ff.
(iii) The Mandhata Plates of Paramāra Devapāla of Mālava (dt. 1225 A.D.), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 103 ff.
6. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 236-37.

Yogin's company whose *āsthān* was on the road. After sometime, the girl killed herself for some unexplained reason. One day the *Yogin*, while in the act of drinking *bhāṅg*, heard about the death of the poor girl, the cup of *bhāṅg* stuck to his mouth, and he died. A stream of water issued from his throat which is the Narmadā. Another version is that the girl finding herself with a child committed suicide by throwing herself over the falls of Kapiladhārā, and the river in which she died was named after her. According to another tradition the river Narmadā sprang from the body of Śiva.[1]

The Narmadā is regarded as one of the seven most sacred rivers of India. The local devotees place it above the Ganges. A Hindu proverb says, 'as wood is cut with a saw, so at the sight of the holy Narbadā (Narmadā) do a man's sins fall away'. So the local legends aver that Gaṅgā herself must dip in the Narmadā once a year. She comes in the form of a coal-black cow, but returns home quite white, free from all sins.[2]

In numerous places on the banks of the river, especially where it is joined by another river, there are groups of temples where annual gatherings of pilgrims take place. The most celebrated of these are Bheraghat, Barmhan, Oṁkāranātha, Māndhātā and Barwani. All these are connected by legends with saints and heroes of Hindu Mythology. The history of these places has been narrated in great detail in the *Narmadā-khaṇḍa*, a sacred poem of 14,000 verses. The *Pradakṣiṇa* ceremony of the Narmadā, that is to walk from its mouth at Broach to its source at the Amarkaṇṭaka by one bank, and back by the other, is considered to be an act of great religious merit.[3] Every year, a good number of pilgrims take part in it.

The importance of the Narmadā also lies in the fact that it is generally esteemed to form the boundary between Āryāvartta and Dakṣiṇāpatha.[4] The Marathas spoke of it as 'the river' and considered that as soon as they had crossed it, they were in a foreign country.[5]

1. *I.G.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 376-77
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. Cf. Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act VI; see Apte, *Rājaśekhara : his life and writings*, p. 21.
5. *I.G.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 377 .

4. *Mandākinī*

The Mandākinī has been identified with the present Mandakin, which is flowing by the side of the famous Citrakūṭa Mountain.[1] It is a small stream flowing into the Paisuni (Payasvinī) a little below Sitapur.

The river Mandākinī along with the famous Citrakūṭa has been mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.[2] It appears that Rāma resided for some time on Mount Citrakūṭa during his exile.[3]

The *Mālavikāgnimitra*[4] mentions a river named Mandākinī. Its identity is, however, uncertain. But the author might have the river Mandākinī around the *Citrakūṭa* in mind. The river has also been mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[5]

The Mandākinī mentioned in an inscription has been identified with a small river, 5 miles south of Tāptī.[6]

5. *Daśārṇā*

The river Daśārṇā was evidently named after the Daśārṇā Kingdom mentioned in many works including the *Mahābhārata*[7] and the *Meghadūtā*[8] of Kālidāsa. Daśārṇa has been identified with East Malwa with its Capital at Vidiśā (Besnagar).[9] The river Daśārṇā is regarded as the same as modern Dhasan flowing past Saugor (Sagar) between the Betwa and the Ken.

The *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāmana* and *Vāyu* Purāṇas say that the Ṛkṣa range is the source of the Daśārṇā.[10] From

1. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. II.
2. Gorresio's *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, liv, 39; lvi,8; civ and lvi, 7.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *I.H.O.*, 1925, p. 214.
5. *Bṛhat*, XVI, 10.
6. Cf. the Chokkakuti grant, *Ind. Ant.*, 1925, 254; the river Mandākinī, mentioned here, flows through the Chokkakuti (Chokhad in Baroda) village into the Arabian Sea.
7. *Mbh.*, II, ch. 32; Nakula conquered it, but Bhīma (ch. 30) is said to have conquered another Daśārṇa in the Chhattisgarh region; see Dey *G.D.A.M.I.* s.v. Daśārṇa.
8. *Megh.*, I, 25-26.
9. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. III.
10. *S.I.A.*, p. 109, the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma Purāṇas*, however, make the Vindhya as the source of the Daśārṇā. Apparently this difference is due to the mistake of one group.

the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[1] it appears that the river which has its source in the Bhopal region empties itself in the Betwa (ancient Vetravatī).

It is the Dosarene of the *Periplus*, Ptolemy avers that the Ouxtenton (Ṛkṣavant) as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaron and the Adamas.[2] The identification of these rivers with the Brahmāṇī, Vaitaraṇī and Suvarṇarekhā respectively are no longer taken seriously. On the other hand, Dosaran sounds very much like the Daśārṇā (Dhasan), which as we have noticed above, occurs in the list of rivers issuing out of the Ṛkṣa according to many of the Purāṇas, including the Vāyu copy used by Albirūnī.[3] Raychaudhuri rightly points out that the position assigned to the mouth of the river by Ptolemy, cannot be any objection to the proposed identity,[4] as it is a well-known fact that Ptolemy's geography had a very poor idea about the configuration of India, and it is said that many of its mountains and rivers are "hopelessly out of position".[5]

6. *Citrakūṭā*

The name of the Citrakūṭā evidently was derived from the famous Citrakūṭa hill of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, lying 65 miles west-south-west of Allahabad. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[6] associates the Citrakūṭa range with two rivers, viz., the Mandākinī and the Mālinī. Sircar[7] thinks that the Citrakūṭā of the Purāṇas is to be identified either with the Mandākinī or with a part of it. But the name of the river Mandākinī still survives, and Cunningham takes it to be the same as the present Mandakin, a small tributary of the Paisuni. So, it is possible that the Mālinī[8] is identified with the Citrakūṭā itself, which according to Dey[9] is another name of the Paisuni. As the Paisuni was larger than the

1. *Mārk.*, ch. 57 (ed. Pargiter).
2. Ptolemy, VII, i, 39-41.
3. *S.I.A.*, pp. 110-11.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. Ptolemy (ed. Majumdar-Sastri), p. 76.
6. Gorresio's *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Loc. cit.*
7. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 47n.
8. Pargiter thinks that the Mālini may be a northern tributary of the river Tons, which joins the Ganges just below Allahabad; see *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 237-45.
9. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 50.

Mandākinī, we may surmise that it had a better claim to be called after the name of the mountain near about it.

Cunningham[1] found an allusion to Prasravaṇa in Parsaroni or Paisuni, and accordingly, he identifies it with the present Paisuni, a tributary of the Jamuna between the Ken and the Tons near the Citrakūṭa. *Prasravaṇa* literally means 'a spring, cascade or waterfall,' and the stream, which is famous for its cascade, got the name of the Prasravaṇa nadī. In the same way the hill of Citrakūṭa also came to be known as the Prasravaṇa-hill.[2] So, it is possible that the Prasravaṇa-nadī (i.e. Paisuni) in an earlier epoch was known as the Citrakūṭā after the name of the hill.

7. *Tamasā*

It is identified with the modern Tons flowing into the Ganges below Allahabad. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions two Tamasā rivers, one of which flows about 12 miles to the west of the Sarayū. It was on its banks that Vālmikī dwelt.[3] The other has been placed in the Rewa region, and it flows into the Ganges near Allahabad.[4] The Purāṇas obviously refer to the latter as issuing from the Ṛkṣa mountain. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* points to it as the Southern Tons.[5] It rises in the Kaimur range from a source known as Tamasā-Kuṇḍa, 2000ft. above sea level (24°N, 80°9′E) in the former Maihar State.[6] From here the river follows a north-easterly course for about 120 miles and after traversing the rough hilly country round Maihar, flows through the plains of the Rewa region. Here it is joined by the Satna; and 40 miles lower down, it is joined by a few other affluents, and spreading into a wide stream with long deep reaches, it enters Uttar Pradesh at Deora. After a north-easterly course of about 44 miles, it falls into the Ganges, 19 miles below Allahabad.

1. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-12.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Rām.*, I, Ch. 2.
4. *Ibid.*, II, Ch. 46.
5. *I.G.I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 419.
6. *Loc. cit.*

8. *Pippalaśroṇī*

The name of the river is quoted as Pippalaśroṇī (*Vāyu Purāṇa*) and Pippaliśyeṇī (*Matsyapurāṇa*).[1] It has been identified by some with the Payasvinī (the modern Paisuni or Parsaroni) which is a tributary of the Jamuna running between the Ken and the Tons.[2] But the identification is not satisfactory as it is difficult to derive Paisuni from Pippalaśroṇī.

The Ajaygarh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman[3] records the grant of a village name Pipalāhika near about Kālañjara. But the identification of the village is uncertain. Again, the Bharat Kala Bhavan plates of Madanavarman (V. S. 1192) refers to a village named Pipalahā in the Tintri-pattalā which is the modern Teonthar Tehsil of Rewa. The village Pipalahā, modern Pipal is mentioned in the Alhaghat stone inscription. [4]

We do not know if Pippalaśroṇī received its name from its close association with either of the two villages mentioned above.

9. *Karamodā*

Some Purāṇas mention the Karatoyā instead of Karamodā.[5] Pargiter[6] suggests the identification of the Karamodā with the modern Karamanasa which rises in the Vindhya hills and empties itself into the Ganges above the Sone.

A tradition preserved in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[7] says that the river sprang from the mouth of Triśaṅku, whom Viśvāmitra tried to send to heaven in his corporeal form. But Triśaṅku was thrown back by the gods. For this reason the river is still regarded as an accursed one, and it is believed that one who passes through its water is deprived of his religious merit.

The Kommenases river of Arrian[8] has been identified by Rennell[9] with the Karmanasa (Karamanasa). Cunningham[10] also supports this identification.

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 47n, *Geo. Pur.*, p. 118.
2. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 156.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 333, 336, v.9.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.
5. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 47n.
6. *Mārk.*, (ed. Pargiter), ch. 57.
7. Vāyu p. 88, 113.
8. Arrian, *Indika*, ch. IV, (ed. McCrindle), p. 191.
9. Vide Rennell, *Memoir of A Map of Hindoostan.*
10. *A.S.R.*, Vol. I to face p.1.

10. *Citrotpalā*[1]

Beglar[2] points out that the *Asiatic Researches*, on the authority of a copy of the *Kālikāsaṁvitta* containing the *Citrotpalāmāhātmya*, in the possession of a Brāhmaṇa, identifies the Citrotpalā with the Mahānadī below its junction with the Pyri (ancient Pretoddhāriṇī),[3] the portion of the Mahānadī before its junction with Pyri being known as Utpaleśvara. Sircar[4] and Ali[5] accept the above identification.

The river is also mentioned in the *Bhīṣma Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*,[6] and referred to in an inscription.[7]

11. *Bāluvāhinī*[8]

On the evidence of the *Skanda Purāṇa, Āvantya Khaṇḍa* (*Revā Khaṇḍa*, ch.4), Dey[9] identifies this river with the Bagin (Baghain) in Bundelkhand (Western part of the Rewa Division). The Bagin is a tributary of the Jamuna and the fort of Kālañjara stands on it.[10]

12. *Śuktimatī*

The Śuktimatī of ancient Indian literature is identified with the modern Ken, a tributary of the Jamuna, flowing through Bundelkhand. It is not known how Śuktimatī was known as

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 47n; *Geo. Pur.*, p. 119, the other reading being 'Nīlotpalā' (*Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa* texts).
2. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 155; also see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV.
3. As to the origin of the name of Citrotpalā, Cunningham makes the following observation. The father of Citrāṅgadā, the mother of Babhruvāhana, was Citravāhana, king of Cedi (Maṇipura?). Now, one of the known names of the Mahānadī river is Citrotpalā; and at Kharod, Beglar was told that the Mahānadī river was anciently called the Citrotpalāvatī river. The southern limit of Sirpur is also said to have included the Ciraka Tāl. Now all these were possibly derived from *Citra* or *Citrāṅgadā*, and it is also likely, that Citravāhana was the king of Citrāṅgadāpura on the Citrotpalā river. (See *A.S.R.*, vol. XVII, pp. 68 ff).
4. *S.G.A.M.I.* p. 47n.
5. *Geo.Pur.*, p. 119.
6. S. Sörensen, *An Index to the names in the Mohābhārata*, p. 178.
7. Cf. The Mahada Plates of Someśvaravarmadeva, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.
8. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 47n; its other reading being Ratnavāhinī (*Kūrma*).
9. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 21.
10. *Geo. Pur.*, p. 119.

the Ken in later period. Cunningham[1] thinks that the name of Ken or Kayan is derived from Sanskrit Karṇāvatī. But this name does not appear in the Purāṇas. It seems peculiar that the name of Ken, which is a great river, should not be mentioned though it has its source in the same rivershed as the Tons, Paisuni and others. According to Dey,[2] the river Śyenī mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*[3] is the same as the river Śuktimatī, and under phonetic rules Syeni would become Keni or Ken.

The *Mahābhārata*[4] connects the river Śuktimatī with the Kolāhala range. The river flowed through the ancient kingdom of Cedi. Pargiter has placed the Kolāhala between Panna and Bijawar in the Rewa Division.[5] The *Imperial Gazetteer of India*[6] informs us that it rises in the north-western slopes of the Kaimur range (23°54′N. 80°10′E) and, flowing north-east through Damoh and Panna, enters the Banda District of Uttar Pradesh near Bilharka. On the bank of the river stood a city of the same name (Śuktimatī of the *Mahābhārata*,[7] Sotthivatī of the Buddhists),[8] which was the ancient capital of the Cedi people.

According to Cunningham,[9] the Suktimat range lies to the south of Sehoa and Kanker and gives rise to the Śuktimatī (i.e. the Mahānadī according to Cunningham), Pyri and Seonath rivers. Pargiter rejects the theory on the ground that it confounds the Śuktimat with the Mahendra range.[10] But Raychaudhuri points out that Cunningham's main fault was his assumption of a connection between Mount Śuktimat and the river Śuktimatī, and the identification of the latter with the Mahānadī.[11] In fact Śuktimatī rises, not from the Śuktimat,

1. *A.S.R.*, Vols.II, XXI.
2. *G.D.A.M.I.*, s.v. Śyenī.
3. *Matsya*, ch. 113, v. 25.
4. *Mbh.*, I, ch. 63.
5. *S.I.A.*, p. 118.
6. *I.G.I.*, vol. XV, pp. 198-99.
7. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 22.
8. The *Cetiya-Jātaka* in the *Jātakas*, Cambridge ed., vol. III, p. 271.
9. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 24, 69 and also see the Map at the end.
10. *Mārk.*, (ed. Pargiter), p. 285.
11. *S.I.A.*, pp. 103-04.

but fro m the Ṛkṣa or from the Vindhyan chain, using the word Vindhya in its wider sense.

Beglar,[1] like Cunningham, makes the mistake of identifying the Śuktimatī with the Sakri, a tributary of the Ganges (east of Gaya in Bihar) and of placing the Mount Śuktimatī in the north of the Hazaribagh District. Pargiter[2] rejects these and identifies the Śuktimatī with the Ken (Kane), which is not connected with Mount Śuktimat; and he takes the Sakri of Beglar as identical with the Śakulī.

13. *Śakulī*[3]

As we have seen above, Beglar[4] identifies the river Sakri, a tributary of the Ganges near Gaya, with the river Śuktimatī of literature; but Pargiter[5] identifies Sakri with Śakulī of the texts. Ali[6] supports Pargiter; but Sircar,[7] though he identifies Śakulī with Sakri, places it in Madhya Pradesh as flowing into the Seonath, a tributary of the Mahānadī.

C. *From the Vindhya*

1. Tāpī[8]

The Tāpī, otherwise called Tapti, is the famous river of Western India. Ptolemy represents the Ouïndion (Vindhya) as the source of both the Namados (Narmadā) and the Nanagouna (Tāptī).[9] The *Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa*[10] also mentions

1. *A.S.R.*, vol. VIII, pp. 124-25.
2. *Mārk.*, *Loc. cit.*
3. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 48n.; the variant readings of Śakulī are Makruṇā, Makṣaṇā, Makraṇā and Śakruṇa (*Vāyu Purāṇa*), Makṣuṇā (*Brahmāṇḍa*), Cakriṇī (*Vāmana*) and Makuṭā (*Matsya*).
4. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VIII, *loc. cit.*
5. *Mārk.*, *loc. cit.*
6. *Geo-Pur.*, p. 119.
7. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 48n.
8. While the majority of the Purāṇas mention the Payoṣṇī, the Nirvindhyā and the Tāptī as rivers rising in the Vindhya, the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma Purāṇas* consider them as rising in the Ṛkṣa mountains. This is evidently due to copyist's error.
9. Ptolemy, VII, i, 31-32, (ed. Majumdar-Sastri) pp. 102-03.
10. Cf. *Tāpī nāma nadī ceyaṁ Vindhya-mūlād viniḥsṛtā* (*Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*, II, 108).

the Tāptī as emerging out of the foot of the Vindhya mountains. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* also refers to this river.[1]

The Tāptī is, however, believed to rise from the sacred tank of Multai (*Mālatāpī*, i.e. the source of the Tāptī) on the Satpura plateau; but according to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, its real source is two miles away (21°48′N. and 78°15′E).[2] The river flows in a westerly direction through the Betul and Nimar Districts; and then it passes into Maharashtra between the towns of Burhanpur and Zainabed, and ultimately, falls into the Gulf of Cambay, near Surat.

The Tāptī has a reputation for the sanctity of its waters. Its name has been derived from *tāpa*, 'heat', and according to the local Brāhmaṇas, it was created by the sun to protect himself from his own warmth.[3]

The river has a number of tributaries, and the junctions are specially considered to be sacred spots (*tīrthas*), the most important of which is Changdeo at the confluence with the Pūrṇā above Surat in Gujarat. According to some, the river Tāptī together with its branch the Purna was known as Payoṣṇī.[4] But the *Bṛhat-śiva*,[5] *Matsya*[6] and other Purāṇas mention Payoṣṇī and Tāptī as two distinct rivers. Sircar and others identify the Payoṣṇi with the Pain or Painganga which is a tributary of the Godāvarī.[7]

2. *Nirvindhyā*

It was also known as Nirvandhyā (*Vāyu Purāṇa*).[8] Literally, *Nirvindhyā* implies 'issuing out of the Vindhya', which name according to Raychaudhuri[9] may have been applied to several rivers on both sides of the Narmadā. One of the Nirvindhyās is associated with Ujjayinī and Avanti, and hence lay north of

1. *Bṛhat.*, XVI, 12.
2. *I.G.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 246-48.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 541.
5. *Bṛhat-Śiva Purāṇa*, Pt. II, Ch. 20.
6. *Matsya*, ch. 113.
7. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 50n.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *S.I.A.*, p. 114n.

the Narmadā. Another belongs to the Tāptī-Payoṣṇī group.[1] Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*[2] refers to the Nirvindhyā, which, according to some, lay between Vidiśā and Ujjayinī, or, in other words between the Daśārṇā (Dhasan) and the Śiprā.[3] Accordingly it has been identified with the modern Kalisindh, which is a south-eastern tributary of the Chambal.[4] It is also mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira.[5]

Scholars like Sircar[6] take the Nirvindhyā of the Purāṇas as the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal flowing between the Betwa and the Kalisindh. According to Tod, the Newuj is also called Jam-niri.[7]

3. *Śiprā*

We have seen above the river of the same name issuing out of Mount Pāriyātra, as identified with the famous river Śiprā that passed by the ancient city of Ujjayinī. But it is doubtful whether the present river refers to the same stream although some scholars including Sircar[8] holds that they are identical.

4. *Veṇvā*[9]

The Veṇvā has been identified with the Wainganga, a tributary of the Godāvarī. According to the *Bṛhat-śiva Purāṇa*[10] it is also known as Veṇīgaṅgā. The *Padma Purāṇa*[11] calls it Veṇā. The *Mahābhārata*[12] connects the Veṇvā (Veṇā) with the Godāvarī.

The Veṇvā rises near the village of Partabpur or Mundara (21°57′N and 79°34′E), 11 miles from the town of Seoni on the

1. See *Supra* p. 106, n. 8.
2. *Megh.*, I, 28-29.
3. B. C. Law, *The Rivers of India*, p. 40.
4. *G.D.A.M.I.*, s.v. *Nirvindhyā*.
5. *Bṛhat.*, XVI, 9
6. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 50n.; *Geo.Pur.*, p. 190.
7. Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol.I, p. 17.
8. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 50n.
9. The other readings are Venvā (*Vāyu*), Vinnā (*Kūrma*). Veṇya (*Mārkaṇḍeya*), Veṇā (*Matsya*), Vaṇā (*Vāmana*).
10. *Bṛhat-śiva Purāṇa, Uttara*, ch. 20.
11. *Padma Purāṇa*, Ādi, ch. 3
12. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 85.

Satpura plateau,[1] and flows in a wide semi-circle, from the west to the east of the Seoni District. Afterwards, it makes a sharp turn towards the south, and passing by Balaghat on the way it enters Maharashtra where it falls into the Godāvarī.

Pargiter thinks that Veṇvā is the Wainganga together with the Prāṇhitā.[2]

Among the rivers issuing out of the Pāriyātra mountain mentioned in the Purāṇa, the river Vedavatī cannot satisfactorily be identified. The Mahābhārata[4] also mentions the river.

The identification of the following rivers[5] coming out of the Ṛkṣa mountain is uncertain:

1. Surasā, Sumahā, Surahā (*Vāyu*); Surathā (*Mārkaṇḍeya*) Sukṛśā (*Matsya*); Suvahā (*Brahmāṇḍa*);
2. Kriyā, Kirvā, Drumā (*Vāyu*); Adrijā (*Mārkaṇḍeya*),[6] Kṣamā (*Matsya*); Śivā (*Garuḍa*);
3. Piśālikā or Piśābikā (*Vāyu*);
4. Vipāśā (*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*);[7] Viśālā (*Kūrma*); Mahāvegā (*Vāyu*);
5. Mañjulā (*Kūrma*); Jambulā,[8] Vañjulā (*Vāyu*);
6. Śunī-Lajjā (*Matsya*);[9] Sumerujā (*Mārkaṇḍeya*); Siterajā (*Vāyu*); Satsantajā (*Vāmana*);[10]
7. Tridivā, Hradikā, Hrādikā (*Matsya*);
8. Kramu, Krama (*Mārkaṇḍeya*); Kramā (*Vāyu*); Vasu (*Vāmana*).

Among the rivers that originate from the Vindhya range, the following[11] cannot be identified properly:

1. *I.G.I.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 348-50.
2. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.50n.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 45n.
4. *Mbh.*, VI, ch. 9.
5. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 47 ff.
6. Besides the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 57), the *Mahābhārata* (XIII) seems to have mentioned the river. Its identification is, however, uncertain.
7. Ali identifies the Vipāśā with the Bewas river, near Sagar, M.P.; *Geo. Pur.*, p. 119.
8. Ali takes it to be Jamai, a tributary of the Betwa; *Geo. Pur.*, *loc.cit.*
9. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, VI, ch. 9.
10. Ali identifies it with the modern Sonar-Bearma, the tributaries of the Ken river, *Geo. Pur.*, *loc. cit.*
11. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 50 ff.

1. Niṣadhāvatī; Niṣadhānadī (*Vāyu*); Mahānadī (*Kūrma*); Ṛṣabhānadī (*Matsya*);[1]
2. Sinibāhu (*Vāyu*); Sinībāli or Sinīvālī (*Mārkaṇḍeya*); Śitibāhu (*Brahmāṇḍa*); Valākā (*Kūrma*); Viśvamālā (*Matsya*); Sinībāhu (*Vāmana*); Sinibāhu (*Vāyu*);
3. Kumudvatī; 4. Mahāgaurī; 5. Durgā,[2] and 6. Antaḥśilā.[3]

Some other Rivers

Ambeviarakanadī

The river is mentioned in the Tivarkhed plates of Nannarāja.[4] This inscription records the grant of land in two villages Tivarakheṭa and Ghuikheṭa made to a Brāhmaṇa on two occasions. The charter was afterwards issued from Acalapura in 553 Śaka. Of the villages mentioned in these plates Tivarakheṭa was situated on the southern bank of the river Ambeviaraka. Tivarakheṭa has been identified with Tivarkhed in the Betul District and the Ambeviaraka-nadī 'is plainly the modern Ambhora which flows by Tivarkhed'.[5]

According to Mirashi,[6] the Tivarkhed copper plate grant is a spurious record.

Gomatī

It is referred to by Kālidāsa, and has been identified with a branch of the Chambal in Madhya Pradesh.[7] Rintambur or Rintimpur, said to have been situated on its bank, was the abode of Rantideva mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[8] as the performer of great sacrifices.

1. Ali identifies it with the Sindh, the river on which Narwar, the capital of the Niṣādhas, was situated; *Geo. Pur.*, p. 120.
2. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, VI, ch. 9.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff; *I.C.P.B.*, p. 88.
5. *I.H.Q.*, XXV, 1949, No. 2, p. 138 f.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 70, s.v. Gomatī.
8. *Mbh.*, VII, ch. 67.

Hastisomā

It is mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa*,[1] and has been identified with the present Hastu (Heshto) river, which flows into the Mahānadī in Madhya Pradesh.[2] The Hastisomā is also mentioned in the *Bhīṣma-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

Indranadī

The Kuruspal Stone inscription of Someśvaradeva[4] refers to the Indranadī. Kuruspal is a village 22 miles from Jagdalpur. The inscription records the grant of a village whose name cannot be made out; but from the boundaries it appears that to its south was the Indranadī and to its east a village named Araṅgā and to the west the village of Kāpālikā.

The Indranadī is undoubtedly the present Indravatī river, which is a tributary of the Godāvarī and passes through the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh. It has been stated that 'of the minor rivers of India none is more interesting than the Indravatī which traverses the most untrodden regions of the Peninsula'.[5]

Kāverī

The *Matsya Purāṇa*[6] mentions two Kāverī rivers, namely, the large river in the south and a second northern Kāverī. The second Kāverī is a well-known tiributary of the Narmadā. Fleet[7] says, "the Indian Atlas shows a 'Cavery R.' flowing into the Narbadā (i.e. Narmadā) from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhiṣmatī" (i.e. Māndhātā, according to Pargiter).[8] The confluence of the Kāverī and Narmadā is famous as Kāverī-Saṅgama,[9] which is extolled in the *Narmadā-māhātmyas* as well.[10]

1. *Padma Purāṇa*, *Ādi*, ch. 3.
2. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 74.
3. S. Sörensen, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
5. *I.G.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 44-45.
6. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 22, 46 and 64.
7. Fleet in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 442, note 7.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 867.
9. It is mentioned in the *Matsya* (Ānadāśrama edition, p. 189) and *Padma* (Calcutta edition, p. 188) *Purāṇas*, its sanctity is supported there with a legend about Kuvera. The *Agni Purāṇa*, (113, 3) also mentions the 'Sacred Kāverī-Saṅgama', though its reference to the Narmadā-Kāverī-Saṅgama is not clear.
10. *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*

The *Kūrma Purāṇa* also notices two Kāverīs, the southern river first,[1] and then the northern one,[2] which is described as destroying guilt. It has been suggested that one should bathe and worship Śiva there. The confluence of the Kāverī and Narmadā has also been highly exalted.[3]

Lavaṇā

It is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*[4] along with the river Sindhu (Sindh) that flowed by the ancient city of Padmāvatī near Narwar. The Lavaṇā has been identified with the Lun or Nun-nadi, which rises near Paniar, and falls into the Sindh at Chandpur-Sonari.[5]

Madhumatī

This is another small tributary of the river Sindhu (Sindh) mentioned in the *Mālatīmādhava*.[6] The Madhumatī has been identified with the Mohwar or Madhuwar, which rises near Ranod, and after passing by Karara, falls into the Sindhu about 8 miles above Sonari.[7]

Madhuveṇī

The river which flows by Mahua is mentioned as Madhuveṇī in an inscription found at Terahi.[8] Mahua (ancient Madhumatī[9] is now a small hamlet one mile south of Terahi in the former Gwalior State, 78°1′E., 25°3′N.

Kielhorn[10] suggests that the river Madhu or Madhuveṇī of the inscription is the same as the river Mahwar of the maps, on which Terahi is situated.

1. *Kūrma Purāna*, ii, 37, 16 and 22.
2. *Ibid.*, 39, 40-41.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. Cf. *Mālatīmādhava*, Acts. IV, IX; see Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. II, p. 95.
5. *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, p. 307.
6. *Mālatīmādhava*, *loc. cit.*, Wilson, *loc. cit.*
7. *A. S. R.*, Vol. II, *loc. cit.*
8. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 201-02.
9. Cf. Bilhari Stone inscription of Yuvarāja II, Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 45.
10. *Ind. Ant.*, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] mentions the two rivers, Madhuvāhinī (*Bhīṣma-parvan*), and Madhuvilā (*Tīrthayātrā-parvan*) the identification of which is uncertain. The present Madhuveṇī may have some connection with either of the two rivers.

Mahā-Javā

This river has been mentioned in the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[2] Travelling a long way from the hermitage of Śarabhaṅga, which was possibly near the Narwar region, Rāmacandra is said to have crossed the river Mahā-javā, and visited a vast forest on a hill, identified with the wide plateau of Panchmarhi and Seoni, the Mahādeva hills.[3]

Literally, *Mahā-javā* means "very swift", and as the name of the river does not occur in any literature, nor even in the *Bhīṣma-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, it is possible that it may be only an adjective of some swift stream or river.[4] It may possibly indicate the Śoṇa river, but this identification seems to be absurd as the Śoṇa is situated far away from the scene, besides it is a male river. Pargiter, therefore, perhaps rightly, identifies it with the upper part of the river Narmadā, somewhere between Sahagpur and Narsimhapur.[5]

Māhiṣikī

The river is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as noticed by B.C. Law in his *Tribes in Ancient India*.[6] The Māhiṣikī was a river of the Māndhātā region.

Mālinī

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[7] the hill of Citrakūṭa is connected with two streams, viz., the Mandākinī (present Mandakin) and the Mālinī. The Mālinī[8] does not appear in the Purāṇas;

1. S. Sörensen, *op. cit.*, p. 450.
2. *Rām.*, (ed. Gorressio), III, 11, 2.
3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, pp. 243-44.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, 1943, p. 386; and S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, p. 68n.
7. Gorressio's *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 56, 7.
8. Kālidāsa places the hermitage of Kaṇva, the adoptive father of the celebrated Śakuntalā, on the bank of the Mālinī (Cf. *Abhijñāna-Śākun-*

but as we have already seen, it may be identified with the river Citrakūṭā of the Purāṇas. Pargiter[1] thinks, however, that the Mālinī is a northern tributary of the river Tons that flows some distance along the southern side of the Citrakūṭa range. The river may be the same as the modern Paisuni which flows by the side of the Citrakūṭa range into the Jamuna.

The Mālinī of the *Mahābhārata*[2] flowed by the hermitage of Kaṇva, the great seer.

Pāṭalavatī

This stream is mentioned by Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatī-mādhava*.[3] It has been identified with a branch of the Chambal. Dey[4] suggests that it may be the Polaitah of Tod[5]. The river Pāṭalavatī has also been mentioned in the *Bhīṣma-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*[6].

Śaṁkarī

This is mentioned in the Maṇḍava Mahal inscription at Chaura,[7] about 11 miles from Kawardha. The record points to the construction of a Śiva temple, known as Māṇḍavī Mahal, by King Rāmacandra of the Nāga lineage, to the east of Cavarāpura (i.e. modern Chaura). The river Śaṁkarī which is identified with the stream of the same name flows about a quarter of a mile away from the site of the temple.[8]

Śaṅkhinī

This river is mentioned in the Dantewara inscription of the Kākatīya Rājā Dikpāladeva (dated 1760 v.s.—1703 A.D.)[9]. From this inscription it appears that the river flows by the side of the Danteśvarī shrine which is situated in the Dantewara Tahsil in the district of Bastar, and that the Kākatīya King

talam, Acts III & VI), and Lassen says that its present name is Chuka, which is a western tributary of the Sarayū (cf. *Indische, Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II p. 524; also *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 122, s.v. Mālinī).

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 231-45.
2. S. Sörensen, *op. cit.*, p. 461.
3. Act. IX.
4. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 151.
5. *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 4.
6. S. Sörensen, *op. cit.*, p. 545.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 175-77
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 165 ff.; XII, pp. 242 ff.

Dikpāladeva made a pilgrimage to the shrine when a large number of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed, as a result of which the colour of the water of the Śaṅkhinī river remained red with blood, for five days.[1]

Sarasvatī

It is mentioned in the stone inscription of Kokalladeva II (last quarter of the tenth century A.D.)[2] discovered from Gurgi about 12 miles east of Rewa town. According to Mirashi, the name Sarasvatī may stand for a river, whose identification is not certain.[3]

Śivā

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*[4] refers to the *Śivā* as issuing out of Mount Ṛkṣa. This may be identical with the Śivā river flowing close to Śivadurga (the present Drug). Śivadurga and Śivapura were named after King Śivadeva mentioned in the Drug stone inscription.[5] The *Bhīṣma-parvan*[6] also possibly refers to this river.

1. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 1.
2. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 46.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
4. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, I, 55, 8.
5. I.C.P.B., p. 136. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 3-4.
6. S. Sörenen, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

CHAPTER V

TERRITORIES AND DISTRICTS

A. TERRITORIES

IN ANCIENT INDIA, most of the territories, both large and small, were known from the names of the tribes inhabiting them. States were generally divided into several administrative units. The present State of Madhya Pradesh is divided into seven administrative divisions, though they do not help us much in ascertaining the regions and kingdoms or administrative units of this area in early times.

From literature and other sources it appears that the area of the present Madhya Pradesh comprised several States, some in whole and some in parts. Of these, the States of Avanti, Daśārṇa (also called Ākara) and Cedi flourished in the earlier epoch, and Jejākabhukti and Dabhālā in the later period. They definitely formed parts of Madhya Pradesh. The Ākara-Daśārṇa and Avanti regions came to be known as Mālava or Malwa at a later period in view of their association with an ancient Indian people called Mālava. After the destruction of Śaka power by Candragupta II, the Aulikaras, a Mālava dynasty, flourished at Daśapura (modern Mandasor in West Malwa) under the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors. Again, with the decline of the Gupta dynasty, the 'Later Guptas' occupied East Malwa, and they appear to have represented another Mālava family. Part of the State of Kośala (also known as Dakṣiṇa-Kośala) mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti*,[1] also fell within the jurisdiction of Madhya Pradesh, while the other part in Orissa.

Of the numerous monarchies, oligarchies and republics those existed in different parts of India about the middle of the sixth century B.C., some are mentioned incidentally in ancient Indian literature. It became a practice to regard sixteen among the States as *mahājanapadas* or 'Great States'. There are a few lists of such 'Great States,' the earliest of which is found in the Buddhist canonical work *Aṅguttaranikāya*, and is believed to reflect

1. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 264.

the political condition of India as prevailed in the age of the Buddha, i.e., the sixth century B.C.[1] The kingdoms of Avanti or Avantī and Cedi are included in the said list. A later list of the 'Great States' given in the *Mahāvastu*[2] mentions Avanti (West Malwa) and Daśārṇa (East Malwa) as separate States.

1. *Avanti*

Speaking about Avanti, Rhys Davids says that the country, much of which was rich land, was colonised or conquered by the Aryans who came down the Indus Valley, and turned east from the Gulf of Kutch.[3] Sircar holds that the name Avanti was derived from that of the Avanti branch of the Haihaya clan of the famous Yadu or Yādava tribe.[4] It appears that the city of Ujjayinī now in the Indore Division, M.P., was founded by the Avantīs and was sometimes called Avantī or 'the City of the Avantīs' (*Avantīpura*).[5] Later, the Vītihotras, another branch of the Haihaya clan, or possibly, a subsection of the Avantīs,[6] ruled the Avanti country with Ujjayinī as its capital.

Avanti was a vast country, and the Buddhist works mention sometimes Ujjenī (Ujjayinī)[7] and sometimes Māhissatī

1. *P.H.A.I.*, 6th ed., pp. 95 ff.
2. *Mahāvastu*, I, 34.
3. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 14.
4. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 35n.
5. Cf. *Āvantya-khaṇḍa*, *Skanda Purāṇa* (Bangavasi ed.), ch. 43. According to the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (*Madhya-khaṇḍa*, ch. 24) Avanti is one of the *Sapta-Mokṣadāpurī* (i.e. seven holy cities), the other six cities being Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśi, Kāñcī, and Dvārāvatī. The *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra makes Ujjayinī and Avanti as synonymous names (*Abhidhāna.*, p. 300).
6. Avantī was the son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, a descendant of Haihaya belonging to the family of Yadu. One of Avantī's descendants was Tālajaṅgha whose descendants became so numerous that the name Tālajaṅgha became almost equivalent to Haihaya. Of Tālajaṅgha's sons, the chief was Vītihotra. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (43, 48-49) mentions the five branches of the Haihayas, e.g. 1. Vītihotras, 2. Sāryatā, 3. Bhoja, 4. Avanti and 5. Tuṇḍikera, all of whom were reckoned as the Tālajaṅghas; See Pargiter, *A. H. I. T.* pp. 41, 102, 143, 153, 263. It may be mentioned that the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, of the earliest Indian literature, associates the Sātvatas and Bhojas, branches of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realm; see *P.H.A.I.*, p. 145.
7. *Jātaka*, IV, p. 390.

(Māhiṣmatī)[1] as its capital. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, there were two well known divisions of Avanti, of which the northern was called Avanti with its capital at Ujjayinī, and the southern known as Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha, had its capital al Māhiṣmatī.[2] It was in Avanti-Dakṣināpatha that the Buddhist missionary Mahākaccāyana preached.[3] Sircar[4] thinks that the kingdom of Avanti was initially a small kingdom, but under the Vītihotras it began to expand in various directions and finally embracing the Haihaya settlement in the districts around the ancient city of Māhiṣmatī (i.e. Māndhātā or Maheswar in the Khargone District, M.P.) on the Narmadā in the south. The fact that the southern part of Avanti was known as Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha in the Buddhist texts seems to corroborate the history of subjugation of the Haihayas of Māhiṣmatī by the Vītihotras of Avanti. S. B. Chaudhuri places the Avanti country on both sides of the Narmadā between Rajasthan in the north and the Tāptī in the south, but thinks Avanti of later inscriptions and literature denoted the northern country bounded by the river Narmadā on the south with Ujjayinī as its capital.[5] Again, he suggests on the basis of a passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that this country was divided into two parts, viz., Abravantī and Avantī,[6] and these two parts were known as Ākara, with its capital at Vidiśā, and Avanti, with Ujjayinī as its capital respectively in the inscriptions of the second century A.D.[7]

The *Mahābhārata* distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhiṣmatī, but seems to refer to two Avanti princes ruling in Narmadā Valley (Narmadām abhitaḥ).[8] The *Mahāgovindasuttanta*[9] of the *Dīghanikāya* mentions Māhissatī

1. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. III, p. 270.
2. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient History of India*, 1918, p. 45.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 24.
5. S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, p. 68.
6. *Loc. cit.*; *Ābrabantīmavantiñca Sarvamebānupaśyata*, *Rām.*, IV, 41, 10.
7. Cf. '*Ākarāvanti*' of the Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 61), also '*Pūrvāparākaravanti*' in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150), *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 41.
8. *Mbh.*, II, 31, 10.
9. *Dighanikāya*, P.T.S., II, pp. 235-36. Avanti was one of the parts into which the earth was divided by king Renu, with the help of his Great Steward, Mahā-Govinda. The king of Avanti at the time was Vessabhu and his capital was Māhissatī. See Malalasekera, *D.P.P.N.*, Vol. I, pp. 192-95; also *P.H.A.I.*, p. 145.

(Māhiṣmatī) as the capital of the Avanti king Vessabhu (Viśvabhū), possibly a Vītihotra. This was probably due to the fact that the capital of Avanti was temporarily transferred from Ujjayinī to Māhiṣmatī and that this event led to the mention of Avanti along with the countries of Dakṣiṇāpatha in some early Buddhist works.[1] The Buddhist and Jaina writers also mention several other cities of Avanti, viz., Kuraraghara ("Osprey's haunt"), Makkarakaṭa and Sudarśanapura.[2]

A Jaina tradition[3] includes within the boundaries of Avanti Tumbavana (modern Tumain in the Guna District of the old Gwalior State), about 50 miles to the north-west of Eran in the Sagar District. This suggests the incorporation of large parts of modern East Malwa in the ancient State of Avanti.

The celebrated grammarian Pāṇini mentions Avanti in the list of the countries farthest to the south.[4] Patañjali also refers to it.[5] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* mentions Avantikā.[6] It is interesting to note that in the Purāṇic list of *Janapadas* the Avanti country has been located in the Madhyadeśa instead of the Western Division.[7]

According to a Purāṇic tradition the territory bounded by the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), Vetravatī (Betwa), Śuktimatī (Ken) and Narmadā was divided between the Yādavas and Haihayas, the former getting the northern part and the latter the southern section.[8] Again, the Purāṇas generally mention the Haihayas and Vītihotras along with the contemporary powers, viz., the Purus (i.e. the Kurus), Ikṣvākus, Bṛhadrathas, Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas, Pañcālas, Kāśis and others.[9] It

1. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Avanti is often mentioned along with Aśmaka which had its capital at Potana (modern Bodhana in Andhra Pradesh) in Pali works, *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 31 n., 154, 159.
2. B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 22; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 145.
3. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, XII, 2-3.
4. Pāṇini, IV, 1, 176; See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, 1928, pp. 11-12.
5. *Mahābhāṣya*, 4, 1, 1; p. 36.
6. *Bṛhat.*, IV, 40, 91.
7. See Sircar in *Indian Studies, Past & Present*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (April-June, 1966), p. 296.
8. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 37, n.3.
9. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 23-24.

appears that the Haihayas and Vītihotras at first ruled side by side at Māhiṣmatī and Ujjayinī, respectively, till the former were subjugated by the latter before the middle of the sixth century B.C. Soon afterwards, the Vītihotras were themselves defeated by the Pradyotas. Avanti became one of the most important powers in India under the rule of Pradyota about the close of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century B.C. It is said that Pradyota sent his chaplain's son, Kaccāna, with seven others, to invite the Buddha to Avanti. The messengers became *arahants* after having listened to the Buddha's teachings, and later on, Kaccāna was asked by the Buddha to return and represent him. Thus, after returning to Avanti, Kaccāna converted Pradyota to the faith of the Buddha.[1] Henceforth Mahā-Kaccāna is said to have spent a good deal of his time in Avanti,[2] dwelling in the city of Kuraraghara on the Papāta hill (*pabbata*). The last king of Pradyota's dynasty was defeated by the Magadha ruler during the fifth century B.C., and theerafter, Avanti remained an integral part of the Magadhan empire for several centuries.

Thus we find that before the time of Candragupta Maurya Avanti was incorporated in Magadha. According to Buddhist traditions, the Avanti-rāṣṭra with its headquarters at Ujjayinī was one of the provinces of the Maurya empire under Bindusāra and Aśoka, respectively the son and grandson of Candragupta Maurya.[3] Aśoka himself was appointed for a time his father's viceroy at Ujjayinī,[4] the capital of Avanti. The Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman (C.150 A.D.[5] also mentions about two kingdoms, viz., Ākara (i.e. Daśārṇa or East Malwa) and Avantī (i.e. West Malwa), side by side. It may also be noted in this connection that an inscription, dated V.S. 1195 (1138 A.D.) refers to Aṇahilapāṭaka as being the royal residence of the Avantināth.[6] Again, from a copper-plate inscription of 982 A.D.

1. *Theragāthā*, P.T.S., i, 485. See Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-95.
2. *Saṁyuttanikāya*, P.T.S., iii, 9, 12; IV, 15-16; *Udāna Commentary*, P.T.S., 307; *Aṅguttaranikāya*, P.T.S., v, 46.
3. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 287; also *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. I, p. 500.
4. *Mahāvaṁsa* (ed. Turnour), ch. XIII, 8.
5. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 178 n. 4.
6. H. C. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 966.

from Gaonri,[1] we learn that Avanti-maṇḍala comprised the *bhukti* of Maddhuka (the former Mhow Cantonment near Indore) and the Ujjayinī-viṣaya.

In some later works, however, we come across exaggerated territorial limits of Avanti. While describing the Kāvyapuruṣa's journey, Rājaśekhara says that the former went to the Avanti kingdom which consists of Avanti, Vidiśa, Surāṣṭra, Mālava, Arbuda and Bhṛgukaccha.[2] This shows the wide area of the kingdom of Avanti of which even Surāṣṭra, Arbuda and Bhṛgukaccha formed parts.[3]

According to the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*[4] of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, a late work roughly assignable to the seventeenth century, Avanti is described as extending from the Tāmraparṇī as far as the northern side of some ranges and as the place of the goddess Kālikā. The goddess Kālikā appears to be the Śakti of the famous Mahākāla of Ujjain. But it is difficult to say why the author of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* extended Avanti from the Tāmraparṇī (Tāmbravari), a well-known rivulet of the south to the place of the goddess Kālikā. Sircar, however, thinks that this Tāmraparṇī is an unknown river and not the reputed rivulet of the south, and that the ranges referred to may be the Western Vindhyas.[5]

Avanti is generally identified with the Ujjain region, a part of the Narmadā Valley including Māndhātā or Maheswar and some adjoining areas. The famous Mālava territory comprising both the Ākara and Avanti regions in Central India became well known under this name much later than the second century A.D. After the extinction of the Śakas of Western India, the Aulikaras, possibly a Mālava dynasty, flourished at Daśapura (in West Malwa) under the Guptas.[6] The Aulikaras used the kṛta-krīta or Mālava era in their records. It is thus possible that the regions of Avanti and Ākara came to be known as Mālava under the influence of this dynasty. But we find from

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII p. 102.
2. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, ch. 3 (ed. C. D. Dalal), p. 9.
3. See *Chronology of Gujarat*, p. 288.
4. *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, BK. III, ch. VII, Verse 17.
5. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 90.
6. *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 11-12.

the *Kādambarī*[1] that West Malwa was known as Avanti and only East Malwa as Mālava; similarly the *Harṣacarita*[2] mentions the usurper of the 'Later Gupta' king Mahāsenagupta of East Malwa as *Mālavarāja*. Thus though the earliest evidence regarding the application of the name Mālava to the eastern part of the present Malwa can be traced in the earlier works,[3] there is little doubt that from the time of the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (composed in the first part of the seventh century A.D.), the name, Mālava became quite popular for this region. This point has further been discussed in detail below. It is interesting to note that Hiuen-Tsang's accounts[4] and probably also the Aihole inscription[5] of the same period (i.e. seventh century A.D.) apply the name to a tract of land in Gujarat. Hiuen-Tsang recognises a separate country with U-She-Yen-na (Ujjayinī) as its capital, to the east of Mālava (Mo-la-p'o) country.[6] The application of the name Mālava to Avanti or to the Ujjayinī region does not appear to have been popular before the Paramāra occupation of that area in the second half of the tenth century A.D. According to Sircar[7], like the Aulikaras, the so-called 'Later Guptas' and the Paramāras represented other Mālava families. The early Paramāras, who ruled over the Mālava country near the Mahī river, were known as 'the Mālavas'.[8]

It may be noticed in this connection that the name Avanti remained popular even in the twelfth century A.D. Paramāra king Yaśovarman, who came to the throne in 1133 A.D., was defeated and captured by the Caulukya Jayasiṁha-Siddha-

1. Cf. ed. Siddhantavagisa, pp. 19, 183.
2. Ed. Parab, pp. 79, 138, 183.
3. The *Kāmasūtra* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* (third century A.D.) mentions Avanti and Mālava separately; *Ethnic settlements in Ancient India*, p. 69. The commentary of the *Kāmsūtra* (VI, 5, 22 and 24) identifies Mālava with Pūrva-Mālava and gives the name Avanti to the Ujjain region; *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 91.
4. The capital of Mo-la-p'o (Mālava) is described by Hiuen Tsang as situated to the south-east of the river Mo-ha (Mahī). See Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. III, p. 155.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. I.
6. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi 1963, p. 412.
7. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 12.
8. *Loc. cit.*, cf. D.H.N.I., II pp. 848-51.

rāja. Jayasiṁha is said to have annexed the whole of Mālava, and assumed the title *Avantināth*a.[1] Mālava was under the sway of Jayasiṁha upto 1138 A.D.

2. *Cedi*

The Cedis are a very ancient tribe mentioned as early as the *Ṛgveda*. In the *Dānastuti* (praise of gift) occurring at the end of one hymn,[2] their king Kasu Caidya is praised. The Cedi king mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* must have been a commanding personality in his times as it appears that he brought many kings under his sway. Rapson proposes to identify Kasu Caidya of the *Ṛgveda* with Vasu of the Epics.[3]

The *Mahābhārata* supplies us with some important geographical information regarding the Cedi realm which was one of the countries encircling Kurus (*paritaḥ kurūn*).[4] The passages of the *Mahābhārata* places Cedi along with the Matsyas beyond the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), the Kāśis of Vārāṇasī (Benaras), and the Kārūṣas in the Śoṇa (Son) Valley,[5] but distinguishes it from the Daśārṇas who lived on the Daśārṇa (Dhasan).[6] According to tradition, the Magadhas, Kārūṣas, Cedis, Vatsas and Matsyas are linked up into one ethnic and political group.[7] Again, the Cedis were the neighbours of the Pañcālas and Matsyas on the north and west respectively, and this led some to suggest that the combination *Pañcālāścedimatsyāśca* agrees with the geographical setting.[8] Pāṇini also mentions the Cedi country in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[9]

The Cedi (Ceti of the Buddhists) kingdom has been included in the list of the sixteen great States of the Buddhist literature. It appears from this list that the Vatsas, Kāśis and Cedis were neighbours, and some are of opinion that while the Vatsas and

1. *S.E.*, p. 69.
2. *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 5, 37-39; See *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 263.
3. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 130.
4. *Mbh.*, IV, I, II.
5. *Mbh.*, V, 22, 25; 74, 16; 198, 2; VI, 47, 4; 54, 8.
6. The association of the Cedis with the Kāśis and Kārūṣas is supported by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson's *Viṣṇu* P., p. 152).
7. The princesses of Daśārṇa were given in marriage to Bhīma of Vidarbha and Vīrabāhu or Subāhu of Cedi (Mbh., III, 69, 14-15).
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4, 2, 116.

Kāśis had their capital at Kauśāmbī and Vārāṇasī, respectively, the Cedi territory was to the south of the Vatsas and south west of the Kāśis.[1] The *Janavasabha Sutta* leads us to infer that the Buddha visited the Ceti (Cedi) country several times.[2]

Scholars are, however, more or less unanimous as to the limits of the early Cedi kingdom. Tod[3] identifies Cedi with Canderi (Candrāvatī or Sandravatis of the Greeks), a town in Bundelkhand, which is said to have been the capital of Śiśupāla, who was killed by Kṛṣṇa.[4] Rapson holds that the Cedis occupied the northern portion of the former Central Provinces.[5] Pargiter places Cedi along the south bank of the Jamuna from the Chambal on the north-west as far as Karwi on the south-east, the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand its southern limits.[6] D. R. Bhandarkar opines that Ceta or Cetiya corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand.[7] Raychaudhuri seems to be more precise when he says that the ancient Cedi territory corresponded roughly to the eastern part of modern Bundelkhand and some adjoining tracts.[8]

In the mediaeval period, the southern frontiers of the Cedi country reached the banks of the Narmada known as the Mekala-sutā.[9] The Kalacuris of Cedi are sometimes referred to as the kings of Ḍāhala-maṇḍala,[10] the capital of which was Tripurī, at present a village known as Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabal-

1. B. S. Upadhyaya, *Buddhakālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola (Hindi)*, p. 428; See *G.E.A.M.I.*, p. 92.
2. Cf. *Dīghanikāya*, P.T.S., II, 200 and *passim*. See Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 911.
3. Tod, *Rajasthan*, I, 43 note.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXI, p. 101. Canderi is 18 miles west of Lalitpur, the ruins are, however, 8 miles north-west of the modern town. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1902, p. 108 note). Canderi has been described in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* as a large ancient city with a fort (*G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 48).
5. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 162.
6. Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 272; also Pargiter in *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 253.
7. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 52.
8. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 129.
9. Cf. *Nadīnāṁ Mekala-sutā nṛpāṇāṁ raṇavigrahaḥ kavīnām ca Surananda's—Cedi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanam* (—attributed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Śūktimuktāvalī*, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 280; also see Konow, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 182).
10. *A.I.K.*, p. 87. Cf. Malkapuram inscription of 1261 A.D., *J.A.H.R.S* IV, 156-57, also Bühler's *Vikramāṅkacarita*, Ch. XVIII, p. 95.

pur.[1] When Albirūnī wrote (1030-31 A.D.), Gāṅgeya (Gāṅgeyadeva) was the ruler of Ḍāhala (i.e. Ḍāhala-maṇḍala) whose capital was Tīaurī (i.e. Tripurī)[2]. The Malkapuram inscription of Śaka 1183 (1261 A.D.) places the Ḍāhala-maṇḍala between the Ganges and Narmadā. In the *Skanda-Purāṇa, Revā-khaṇḍa*,[4] Maṇḍala is said to be another name for Cedi. Maṇḍala has, however, been identified with Mandalai of Ptolemy,[3] a territory situated in the highland where the Śoṇa and Narmadā have their sources.[6]

The *Cetiya-Jātaka*[7] informs us that the capital of the Cedi country was the city of Shotthivatī. The Sanskrit equivalent of the name is found in the *Mahābhārata* as Śuktimatī or Śuktisāhvaya.[8] The same epic also alludes to a river called Śuktimatī that flowed by the capital of king Uparicara of the Cedivisaya.[9] The river Śuktimatī also mentioned in the Purāṇas has been identified with the Ken.[10] The city of Sotthivatī (Śuktimatī) has been placed in the vicinity of Banda by some

1. Earlier, Tripurī was under the rule of the Sātavāhanas, who were, however, supplanted by the Bodhis. The excavations at Tripurī have thrown interesting light on the hitherto unknown history of the Bodhis. See *infra*, 'Tripurī'.
2. Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202. Earlier Cunningham read 'Pithuri' as the capital of Dahala-maṇḍala and identified it with Tripurī. See *A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 106.
3. Cf. *Bhāgīrathī-Narmadayor-madhyam Dāhala-maṇḍalam*, Malkapuram inscription of Śaka 1183 (1261 A.D.); see *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 156-57. The inscription refers to a grant of no less than three lakhs of *grāmas* in Ḍāhala-maṇḍala by the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja (I or II, II according to Sircar, *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 200) in favour of a Śaiva saint named Sadbhavaśambhu.
4. *Skanda* p. *Revā-Khaṇḍa*, ch. 56.
5. McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 168.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *Cetiya*, No. 422.
8. *Mbh.* III, 20, 50; XIV, 83, 2; *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. vii.
9. *Mbh.* I, 63, 35.
10. Pargiter in *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 255; *Mārk.* (ed. Pargiter), p. 359. Cunningham (A.S.R.XVII, pp. 24, 64) used to hold that Śuktimat is the mountain range to the south of the Sehoa and Kanker, which gives rise to the Śuktimatī (i.e. Mahānadī according to Cunningham), the Pyri and the Seonath, and forms the boundary between Chhattisgarh and Bastar. But this is no longer accepted; see also S.I.A., pp. 103-04.

scholars,[1] while others locate it to the west of Hastināpura (Hatthinīpura or Hatthipura) in the Kuru country.[2]

Another important city of the Cedi-janapada was Sahajāti which lay on the trade route along the Ganges, and possibly formed the northern boundary of the *Janapada*[3], and Tripurī, the mediaeval capital, as we have seen above, stood close to the Narmadā not far from modern Jabalpur, and probably formed its southern boundary.[4]

From the *Vedabbha Jātaka*, we learn that the road from Kāsi to Cedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders.[5]

The *Cetiya Jātakas* gives a legendary genealogy of the Caidya kings, taking their descent from Mahāsāmmata and Māndhātā. Upacara, a king of the line, had five sons who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sīhapura, Uttarapañcāla and Daddarapura, all of which are located outside the present Madhya Pradesh.[6] The *Mahābhārata* also speaks of other Cedi rulers like Damaghoṣa, his son Śiśupāla, Sunītha and his sons Dhṛtaketu and Śarabha who reigned about the time of the Bharata War.[7]

The Kalacuris who ruled over Ḍāhala maṇḍala, were of foreign origin.[8] They are said to have entered India in the train of the Hūṇas and Gurjjaras. Their later claim to have come from the Haihaya King Arjuna, son of Kārttavīrya and ruler of Māhiṣmatī, indicates that they had settled in the Anūpa country on the Narmadā.[9] The *Anargharāghava*[10] also mentions that Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Cedi maṇḍala at the time of the Kalacuris. About the close of the sixth century, the Kalacuris who appear to have settled in Malwa, began to move towards the east as a result of the pressure of the Maitrakas and ultimately settled in the Jabalpur region where after a long period of comparative obscurity they emerged powerful about the end of the ninth century A.D.[1]

1. Pargiter in *J.A.S.B.*, *Loc. cit.*
2. B.S. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 428; see *G. E. A.M.I.*, p. 92.
3. Cf. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, III, 355; also a terracotta seal-die found at Bhita, near Allahabad, shows the legend *Sahijitiye Nigamasa* (c. 3rd cent. B.C.). See *Arch. Exp. Ind.*, 1909-10 by Marshall; also *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIX, 1933, p. 293.
4. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 129; *Ep. Ind.* vol. I, pp. 220, 253. It has also been suggested that Kālañjara (now in U.P.) was the capital of the Cedi territory during the Gupta period, and Cedi was also called Tripurī from the name of its capital. See *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 40.
5. *Vedabbha*, No. 48.
6. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 130 and note.
7. *Mbh.*, I, 63, 1-2.
8. The word had a non-Sanskritic origin., See *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1943, p.44.
9. *C.A.*,p. 194..
10. Act. III, p. 115.

Among the early Kalacuri rulers the names of Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja deserve special mention. The Abhona (Nasik) inscription[2] of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated 595 A.D., which was issued from the victorious camp of Ujjayinī, the famous city of west Malwa, suggests, according to Sircar,[3] that the Aulikaras of Mandasor were subdued by him. The Vadner grant[4] of Buddharāja, dated 608 A.D., issued from Vaidiśa or Vidiśā (Besnagar), perhaps, also points to Buddharāja's conquest of Vidiśā shortly before 608 A.D. from King Devagupta who fought against the Maukharis and Puṣyabhūtis about 605-06 A.D.[5] Thus, though Buddharāja lost the southern part of his kingdom to the Cālukyas as appears from the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription,[6] there is no doubt that Kalacuri influence was extended to the Malwa region during his time. It appears that soon after Harṣa succeeded in subjugating these Kalacuris[7] who were, however, destined to rise again into political eminence in Eastern Madhya Pradesh (i.e. Ḍāhala-maṇḍala) a few centuries later.

The Kalacuris of Ḍāhala-maṇḍala had their capital at Tripurī (modern Tewar). The earliest known king of this dynasty is Kokkala I who by his powers and military skill raised the Kalacuri dynasty to the rank of the imperial ruling families of the age. He made his 18 younger sons governors of the different *maṇḍalas* of his empire, and a descendant of one of these sons became the founder of the Kalacuri dynasty of South

1. *C. A.*, pp. 194-95.
2. *Ep. Ind.*,Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff.
3. *C.A.*, p. 195.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff.
5. *C.A.*, p. 196.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 17.

Kośala.[1] The next ruler, Śaṅkaragaṇa, captured Pālī (in the Bilaspur District) from the Somavaṁśī king, but himself was severely defeated by Cālukya Vijayāditya III, at Kiraṇapura,[2] now a small town in Balaghat District. Yuvarāja II reconstructed the city of Tripurī in order to enhance its grandeur.[3]

But the power and prestige of Ḍāhala rose to a new height in the reign of Gāṅgeyadeva who invaded Kośala and defeated its ruler.[4] From other sources, however, we learn that Yayāti invaded and devastated the Ḍāhala country in his 8th regnal year.[5] Anyway, Gāṅgeyadeva's victory over the Somavaṁśī king, perhaps, made it possible for a branch of the Kalacuri family to establish a kingdom in South Kośala with Tummāṇa as its capital, as a feudatory of the main line of Tripurī.[6] Gāṅgeyadeva assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.[7]

Like Gāṅgeyadeva, his son Karṇa was a reputed general of his time. He carried on incessant warfares against many powers far and near including the contemporary Somavaṁśī ruler of South Kośala , Oḍhra and Kaliṅga. He also assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, and founded the city of Karṇavatī near Jabalpur.[8]

The Kauravas of Kakareḍikā (Kakeri) on the border of the old Panna and Rewa States acknowledged the suzerainty of Kalacuri Jayasiṁha who came to the throne in 1167 A.D.[9] Jayasiṁha's son Vijayasiṁha also appears to have maintained his hold over Baghelkhand and the Ḍāhala-maṇḍala upto 1212 A.D.; but within a year Candella Trailokyavarman wrested Baghelkhand from the Kalacuris and possibly also the whole of the Ḍāhala maṇḍala.[10]

1. *A.I.K.*, p. 88.
2. Cf. The Maliyapundi grant of Amma II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff.
3. *A.I.K.*, p. 90.
4. *S.E.*, p. 61.
5. *J.A.S.L.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 117 ff.
6. *S. E., loc. cit.*
7. *Loc. cit.* Albirūnī who visited India about 1031 A.D. informs that Gāṅgeya (deva) was ruling in Ḍāhala (Maṇḍala). See Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202.
8. *S. E.*, p. 63.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
10. *Loc. cit.*

Besides Avanti and Cedi we discuss a few more important territories of Madhya Pradesh below.

1. *Anūpa*

Anūpa is an ancient *Janapada* and the people of Anūpa are mentioned in the Purāṇas along with the peoples residing in the Vindhya region (*Vindhyapṛṣṭhanivāsinaḥ*).[1] It is mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, according to which it was situated on the bank of the Revā (Narmadā) with the city of Māhiṣmatī as its capital.[2] In the Nasik inscription of queen Gautamī Balaśrī, Anūpa is placed between Aparānta and Vidarbha.[3] This location of the Anūpa territory in the district round Māhiṣmatī is in consonance with the description of the country we find in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[4]

S. B. Chaudhuri refers to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, according to which 'Anūpa' means a tract of territory near water. The text also refers to Kaccha by way of illustration.[5] In the *Mahābhārata* also 'Anūpa' is mainly regarded as an area of the coastal land.[6] But the Anūpa and Kaccha kingdoms have been mentioned separately in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāmān I (150 A.D.).[7] Again, there is little doubt that the country named Anūpa was around the Māhiṣmatī region. Sometimes the city of Māhiṣmatī itself has been described as the capital of Narmadānūpa, a country about the Ṛkṣa range.[8]

Pargiter thinks that the mouth of the Narmadā was known as Anūpa.[9] Ali on the other hand suggests that the name of the Anūpa *Janapada* indicates 'an ill drained or marshy land,' which in the context of the Narmadā basin, coincides with the

1. *S.G.A.M.I.* p. 36.
2. *Raghu.*, VI, 37-43.
3. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 203, line 2; similarly the Junagarh record (150 A.D.) places it between Ākarāvanti and Ānartta; see p. 178, l. 11.
4. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 491, 506; *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 35n.
5. S. B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
6. Cf. *Sāgarānūpavāsinaḥ* (Mbh., II, 30, 27); also *Sāgarānūpakāṁścaiva te ca prānta-nivāsinaḥ* (Mbh., III, 51, 23).
7. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 178.
8. See H. C. Raychaudhuri in *J.D.L.*, 1929, Vol. XIX, p. 20.
9. *A.I.H.T.*, p. 266 n. 2.

vast ill-drained, alluvial region across which the Narmadā flows after its release from the Vindhya-Satpura ranges, accordingly he identifies it with the southern part of the present Rewa Kantha.[1]

A verse from the *Mahābhārata*, again, places the Anūpa region close to the territory of the Ṛṣikas.[2] An allusion to the Ṛṣikas is probably also found in the passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentioning the Ṛṣikas along with Anūpa and Māhiṣaka.[3] Mark Collins, however, connects the Ṛṣikas with the Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis or Rāṣṭrikas, the early inhabitants of Maharashtra.[4] Some regard the Ṛṣikas as being the same as Asika of the Nasik inscription of queen Balaśrī,[5] while Sircar locates the chief city of the Asika country mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravela, on the river Kṛṇṇā.[6]

2. *Cakrakūṭa*

The territory of Cakrakūṭa was also known as Cakrakoṭya, Cakrakoṭṭa, Cakrakoṭa, etc. The Tiruvalangadu plates (1017 A.D.)[7] and the Tirumalai rock inscription (1024 A.D.)[8] of Rājendracola I (1012-44 A.D.) give the name Śakkarakkoṭṭam which was occupied by Rājendracola's army on their way to the Ganges.[9] Śakkarakoṭṭam has been identified with Cakrakoṭṭa or Cakrakūṭa which finds mention in the inscriptions of the Nāgavaṁśī-Sindas.[10] It is a place in Bastar, and according to K. A. Nilakantha Sastri[11] its modern representative is probably Citrakoṭa or Citrakūṭa, 8 miles from Rājāpura a village which finds mention in one Sinda grant.[12] The present village

1. *Geo. Pur.*, p. 162.
2. Cf. *Kāmboja Ṛṣika ye ca paścimānūpakāśca* (Mbh., V, 4, 18).
3. Cf. *Vidarbhānṛṣikāṁścaiva ramyān Māhiṣakānapi* (Rām., IV, 41, 10).
4. Mark Collins, *The Geographical data of the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracarita*, 1907, p. 44.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 61.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 215 fn. 4.
7. Cf. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 205.
8. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 232-33.
9. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, The *Cholas*, 1935, pp. 249 ff.
10. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.* pp. 178-79; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
11. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 178.

of Citrakūṭa might have been the headquarters of the former State of Śakkarakkoṭṭam or Cakrakūṭa. Actually, one of the earliest references of the city may be found in the Maliyapundi grant of Amma II,[1] wherein it is stated that king Vijayāditya III (849-92) of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty in the course of his victorious campaigns burnt the city of Cakrakūṭa (in Bastar) and captured the elephants of the king of South Kośala (apparently in Chhattisgarh and adjoining regions). The territory of Śakkarakkoṭṭam (or Cakrakūṭa) at the time of Rājendra's invasion was under the rule of a Somavaṁśī king named Indraratha, who is possibly identical with Nahuṣa Mahābhavagupta III.[2]

The earliest Nāgavaṁśī record in Bastar found in Errakot,[3] bears a date in Śaka 945 i.e. 1023 A.D., which, according to some,[4] suggests that the Sinda-Nāgas, originally a people of South India, entered the Bastar region in the train of the army of Rājendracola I. But it may be mentioned that the Cola inscriptions speak of the existence of a Nāga territory known as Māśuṇi-deśam in Bastar itself. These Nāgas may be the predecessors of the Sinda-Nāgas who rose to eminence in these regions in a later period.

The Rājapura inscription of Madhurāntaka, dated 1065,[5] mentions the grant of the village of Rājapura (22 miles north-east of Jagdalpur in the Bastar District), which was situated in the Bhramarakoṭya (Koṭṭa)-maṇḍala, identified either with Cakrakūṭa or a part of the latter. The Rajim stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896-1144 A.D.)[6] mentions a place called Bhramaravadra which was considered by Mirashi as identical with the Bhramarakoṭṭa-maṇḍala, mentioned above.

The Kuruspal fragmentary inscription of Someśvara I[7] informs us that Someśvara acquired the sovereignty of Cakrakūṭa through the grace of Vindhyavāsinī after having killed king

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff; also cf. The Pithapuram inscription, A.I.K., p. 89.
2. *S. E.*, p. 210.
3. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 166.
4. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 163-64.
6. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 453 (No. 88).
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.

Madhurāntaka, probably of the Rajapura inscription of 1065 A.D. It appears from the record of Someśvara I Madhurāntaka usurped the throne of Cakrakūṭa, of which Someśvara was the hereditary king.

The capital of Cakrakūṭa under the Sinda-Nāgas was the city of Bārasūra, identified with modern Barsur about 55 miles from Jagdalpur.[1] The kingdom of the Sinda-Nāgas under Someśvara I was no longer confined to Cakrakūṭa alone but embraced a much wider area including 'the six lakhs and ninety-six villages of Kośala' (South Kośala).

3. *Daśārṇa*

The people inhabiting Daśārṇa are referred to in the list of peoples of the Purāṇas.[2]

The term *Daśārṇa* has been derived as follows : *Daśārṇāni* (*durgāṇi*) *asmin-niti Daśārṇo deśaḥ* (i.e. a place having ten forts); *Daśa Ṛṇa* gives *Daśārṇa* with *Vṛddhi* by the *Vārttika* "*Pravatsatara-kambala-vasanārṇa-daśānāmṛṇe*' and *Pravatsatara-kambala-vasana-daśārṇānām ṛṇe.*[3] Some scholars, however, attempt to derive *Daśārṇa* otherwise.[4]

The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions one Daśārṇa region and associates it with the Mekalas and Utkalas where Sugrīva sent his monkey hosts in quest of Sītā.[5] The *Mahābhārata* mentions Daśārṇa thrice, twice in the Sabhāparvan in connection with the victorious marches of Bhīmasena and Nakula, and once in the Anugītaparvan, wherein it is stated that Citrāṅgada, ruler of Daśārṇa was vanquished by Arjuna.[6] On the basis of scanty

1. Cf. The Barsar and Patinar inscriptions of 1060 A.D., *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 158-59.
2. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 34n.
3. Under Pāṇini, 6, 1, 69.
4. At the time of Aśoka Cetiyagiri (identified with either Sañcī or Vidiśā i.e. Besnagar) was a city of the country called Dakkhinagiri (Mahāvaṁsa, ed. Turnour, Ch. XIII.5), which is, according to Dey (*G.D.A.M.I.*, pp. 49, 54) and others (*G.E.A.M.I.*, pp. 105-6), a corruption of Daśārṇa. It is, however, difficult to derive Dakkhinagiri, from Daśārṇa and accordingly, this suggestion does not seem to us quite sound. Moreover, Malalasekera points out that Ujjenī (i.e. Ujjayinī) was the capital of Dakkhinagiri. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p 1049.
5. *Rām.*, IV, 41, 10.
6. S. Sörensen, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, some scholars suggest that there were two territories known as Daśārṇa, one of which was in East Malwa with Vidiśā as its capital, and the other in the Chhattisgarh (literally, 'thirty-six forts') and the adjoining regions.[1] But according to Sircar the ancient name of the Chhattisgarh region was Kośala or Dakṣiṇa-Kośala (South Kośala) and never Daśārṇa.[2]

From the *Jātakas* it appears that during the time of the Buddha, Daśārṇa was famous for manufacturing sharp swords.[3] The *Mahāvastu*, while describing the sixteen great States, omits Gandhāra and Kāmboja, substituting in their places Śibi and Daśārṇa, respectively.[4] In the early Jaina books, Mattiavaī i.e. Mṛttikāvatī appears to be the capital of Dasaṇṇa (Daśārṇa).[5] The *Harivaṁśa* also locates it on the bank of the river Narmadā[6]. Elakacchapura was a town of this country, which is situated on the bank of the river Vatthagā.[7] The town was visited by Mahāvīra.[8] Elakaccha is also mentioned in the Pali literature.[9]

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea places 'the region of Dosarene yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic' towards the east of Masalia (i.e. the country around Masulipatam in Andhra.)[10] Some scholars identify Dosarene with Daśārṇa and locate it in the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh; and according to them, it comprises Chhattisgarh and the adjoining regions.[11] But Sircar thinks that Ptolemy's Dosara, the possible metropolis of the Dosarene region is a modification of the Indian name 'Tosala' ('Tosalī' or 'Tosalā') and that it is to be identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District.[12]

1. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 54; also *G.E.A.M.I.*, p. 105, s.v. Daśārṇa.
2. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 107.
3. *Jātakas*, III, 338; VI, 238.
4. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, 34. See also *P.H.A.I.*, p. 95 note.
5. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Leipzig (1920), pp. 225-26; also S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in India*, p. 30 fn.2.
6. *Harivaṁśa*, i, 36, 15.
7. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, Jinadasagani, Rutlam (1928), p. 226.
8. *G.E.A.M.I.*, p. 106.
9. Petavatthu Commentary 20; 83-105.
10. See Schoff's translation, p. 47.
11. Cf. *J.A.S. Letters*, Vol. XVI, p. 266; Schoff's trans., p. 253; also Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ed. Hall), Vol. II, p. 160, n.s.
12. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 152.

According to some, the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Daśārṇa which is identified with the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh.[1] Again, Jayaswal, on the basis of some inscriptions, regards Vijaya-Daśanapura of the Andhra country as the capital of a Vākāṭaka principality.[2] But Daśanapura, which is identified with modern Darsi in the Nellore District, had practically no connection with the Vākāṭaka family.[3] Regarding Vākāṭaka rule in the Chhattisgarh region, as Sircar[4] points out, we do not have any evidence. Moreover, the ancient name of Chhattisgarh was not Daśārṇa but Kośala or Dakṣiṇa Kośala (South Kośala).

Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* mentions Vidiśā, situated on the Vetravatī, as the capital of the Daśārṇa country.[5] A hill called Nīcaiḥ in Daśārṇa has also been mentioned.[6] So, the country called Daśārṇa has been identified with East Malwa and the adjoining regions with its capital at Vidiśā (modern Basnagar near Vidisha, M.P.) and with the rivers Daśārṇā (possibly, Dasaron of Ptolemy,[7] or modern Dhasan) and Vetravatī (or modern Betwa) running through it. Daśārṇā or East Malwa was known as Ākara as well. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[8] and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[9] mention it together with Avanti which was the name of the western part of Malwa with its capital at Ujjayinī (Ujjain). The name Ākara for the Daśārṇa region appears to have been popular about the second century A.D., since it occurs both in the Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī and the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I (150 A.D.).[10]

1. The suggestion has been made in accordance with a verse occurring in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, which refers to a lady named Vasundharā, the daughter of one Vikrama and an inhabitant of Daśārṇa; see D. B. Disalkar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, 1944, pp. 367-68.
2. Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 136.
3. *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 150.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Megh.*, I, 24-25.
6. *Ibid.*, I, 27.
7. Ptolemy, VII, i, 39-41. Garrett identifies the river with Dhosaun in Bundelkhand, Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*.
8. *Rām.*, IV, ch. 41.
9. *Bṛhat.*, ch. 14.
10. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 178, 203.

The name Mālava for both Daśārṇa (Ākara) and Avanti became well known much later than second century A.D. It has been pointed out that the *Kāmasūtra* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* (third century A.D.) mention Avanti and Mālava separately. The commentator of the *Kāmasūtra* identifies Mālava with Pūrva-Mālava and gives the name Avanti to the Ujjayinī region.[1] The *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa upholds this tradition and associates Mālava ladies with the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) around Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Vidisha), while considering Ujjayinī, as a city of Avanti.[2] Bāṇabhaṭṭa's other work *Harṣacarita* also mentions Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, the sons of the 'Later Gupta' king Mahāsenagupta of East Malwa as *Mālavarājaputra* and the usurper of Mahāsenagupta's throne (Devagupta) as *Mālavarāja*.[3] Thus, according to Sircar, the use of Mālava in the sense of the ancient *janapada* of Ākara (Daśārṇa) in the present Eastern Malwa region was possibly made popular by the so-called 'Later Guptas' who appear to have represented the Mālava family, like the Aulikaras of West Malwa.[4] It was during the rule of the Paramāras that Mālava came to be the most popular name of the ancient Avanti-Ākara (Daśārṇa) region (in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.).[5] It may also be noted that in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, a late work of the seventeenth century, Mālava is described as lying to the east of Avanti and to the north of the Godāvarī, indicating thereby the region of Daśārṇa-Ākara (i.e. East Malwa).[6] Muslim writers of the early medieval period likewise distinguish between Uzain (Ujjayinī) and Al-Malibah (Mālava).[7]

4. *Jejākabhukti*

The region, where the Candellas became a great power, as can be ascertained from epigraphic records, was known as

1. See *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 91.
2. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* (ed. Siddhantavagisa), pp. 19, 183.
3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 295-96 and notes.
4. *A. M. V. T.*, p. 12.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Bk. III, Ch. VII, V. 21; *S. G. A. M. I.*, p. 91.
7. Sircar, *The Gahilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 28, note. 4.

Jejābhukti,[1] Jejābhuktika[2] or Jejākabhukti,[3] which is the anceint name of Bundelkhand. The name Bundelkhand which became current later, was connected with the Bundela Rajputs, who emerged as a political power in this region, in the fourteenth century. Apparently, the name Bundelkhand has no bearing on the history of the Candellas. Bundelkhand is now a part (Western) of the Rewa Division of Madhya Pradesh.

The name Jejābhukti was modified as Jijhoti, Jajhoti or Jajāhūti. It is preserved in the epithets Jajhotiya (Jijhotiya) applied to the Brāhmaṇa and Baniya residents of the Bundelkhand region. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's Chih-chi-to[4] or Chi-ki-to (according to Beal) is equated with the kingdom of Jajhoti, or Jājhaoti, as mentioned by Albirūnī.[5] According to Hiuen Tsang (641-42 A.D.) Chih-chi-to was "more than 1,000 lis to the north-east of Ujjain, and more than 900 lis to the south of Maheśvarapura" (Gwalior).[6] One mile is considered equivalent to about 6 lis. In the opinion of Smith, this would naturally bring the western frontier of Jajhoti to the Betwa river.[7] The Chinese pilgrim, however, does not mention the name of the capital of this ancient kingdom, but refers to it as "about 15 li in circuit". Later writers, however, call the capital Khajurāho.[8] But Khajurāho did not rise to eminence prior to the age of the Candellas in the tenth century A.D. Smith, therefore, thinks that Eran (ancient Airikiṇa) on the Bina river, a tributary of the Betwa, 45 miles from Sagar, was the capital of Jijhoti in the seventh century A.D.[9]

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10.
2. Cf. Ratanpur Stone inscription of Jajalladeva (Kalacuri), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 35, V. 21.
3. Cf. Madanpur Stone inscription, *ibid.*, No. 10, ll.2-3; *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74.
4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vo. II, p. 251.
5. Reineud, *Fragments Arabes*, etc., p. 106. See Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi 1963, p. 405.
6. Watters, *loc. cit.*
7. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, p. 131. Watters thinks that Chih-Chi-to is modern Chitor (Watters, *loc, cit.*); H. C. Ray supports Watters' proposition (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 670).
8. Albirūnī calls the capital Kajūrāha and locates it about 90 miles to the south-east of Kanauj. Ibn Batūtā (1335 A.D.), who visited the capital, mentions it as Khajūra. The Sanskrit version for Khajuraho is Kharjūravāhaka. See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 406 .
9. *Ind. Ant., loc. cit.*

From the accounts of Albirūnī and Ibn Batūtā, it appears that the province of Jajhoti corresponds to the Bundelkhand region.[1] The Chinese pilgrim estimates the area of Chih-chi-to at 4,000 li or 667 miles, forming a square about 167 miles to each side. Bundelkhand in its widest extent is said to have "comprised all the country to the south of the Jumna and Ganges, from the Betwa river on the west to the temple of Vindhyavāsinī Devī on the east, including the Districts of Chanderisagar, and Bilhan near the sources of Narbadā (Narmadā) on the south."[2] This area agrees with that of the ancient country of the Jajhotiya Brāhmaṇas, suggested by Buchnan, as extending from the Jamuna on the north to the Narmadā on the south and from Urcha on the Betwa in the west to the Bundelā-nālā (a small stream flowing into the Ganges near Vārāṇasī) on the east.[3]

It is interesting to note that the above description of the ancient country coincides with that of the Candella kingdom, as mentioned in verse 45 of the Khajuraho inscription of v.s. 1011 (953-54 A.D.).[4] According to this, the kingdom was bounded by the town of Bhāsvat (i.e. Bhilsa, the present Vidisha on the Betwa) on the river Mālva on the west, the Jamuna on the north with Gopādri (Gwalior) in the north-east. The southern frontier was possibly the Kaimur range on the Narmadā river. The statement of the Khajuraho inscription with regard to the limits of the kingdom seems to have been corroborated by the references to the *viṣayas* and other administrative units found mentioned in other inscriptions and land-grants of the dynasty (Candella).[5] In the words of Smith, the Candella territory included "the districts of Hamirpur, Banda, Lalitpur (a subdivision of Jhansi), with parts of Allahabad and Mirzapur in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), the Saugor (Sagar) and Damoh Districts in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh), and a large intermediate space, which under British rule was occupied by a number of small native states".[6]

1. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Eastern India*, II, p. 452.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 129.
5. S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 2.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

It appears, therefore, that both Jijhoti or Jajhoti (Chih-chi-to) and Jejākabhukti almost refer to the same region and locality. But with regard to the origin of these terms there are differences among scholars. As to the name Jajhoti, it has been suggested that the Brāhmaṇas derive the name of 'Jajhotiya' from 'Yajur-hota', an observance of the *Yajurveda*.[1] But the name, which is applied to the Baniyas (or grain dealers) as well as the Brāhmaṇas, is, according to Cunningham, 'a mere geographical designation', which has been derived from the name of the country of Jajhoti.[2]

The Candellas claim in an inscription that the name Jejākabhukti owed its origin to prince Jayaśakti of their family, whose name is also given in forms like Jejjāka[3] and Jejā.[4] Another inscription says, "as Pṛthu gave his name to Pṛthvī so Jejā, gave his name to Jejākabhukti."[5]

According to some, 'Jejākabhukti' got corrupted into Jijho in the same way as Tīrabhukti became modern Tirhut.[6] It has been pointed out that Jijhoti was the earlier name, if its equation with the name given by Hiuen Tsang is to be accepted.[7] It may, however, be suggested on the basis of the Candella record mentioned above that prince Jayaśakti was possibly the first ruler of the Candella family to have assumed a definite political status, at least that of a feudatory ruler,[8] and possibly also that the Candella region was organised into a *bhukti* and placed under him as a feudatory so that the region came to be known after his name, as the *bhukti* of Jejā or Jejāka.[9]

We give below the various names of the region once occupied by the Candellas.[10] A close similarity of these names may be noticed. These are as follows—Jijhoti, Jajhoti, Jajhāoti Jajāhūti, Jajāhoti, Jejāhutī, Jejābhkuti, Jejākabhukti, Jejabhuktika

1. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 407.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 122, l.6.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 221, v.10.
5. Cf. Mahoba inscription, *loc. cit.*
6. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 58; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 218.
7. S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
8. *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 670.
9. S. K Mitra, *loc. cit.*
10. *Loc. cit.*

and Chih-chi-to or Chi-ki-to (Chinese). It thus appears that the suggestion according to which Jijhoti is an abbreviated form of Jejākabhukti does not seem to be irrelevant.

It is true that the boundaries of the Candella dominion underwent changes from time to time, but it always included the cities of Mahoba, Kālañjara, Khajuraho and Ajayagarh, of which the last two are situated in Madhya Pradesh. Cunningham thinks that the famous fort of Kālañjara became the permanent capital of the Candellas after the occupation of Mahoba by the Muhammadans, and the strong fortress of Chanderi ultimately became the Muhammadan citadel of the Eastern Malwa region.[1]

5. *Kośala (Dakṣiṇa-Kośala)*

According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* the name 'Kośala' is derived from the Sanskrit word *Kuśala* meaning 'happy'.[2] The epic king Daśaratha, lord of Kośala, married Kauśalyā, the daughter of the king of apparently another Kośala, and this has been taken probably to point to the antiquity of South Kośala. It appears that the colonisation of the country was made by the princes of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā, the capital of Kośala or Uttara-Kośala.[3] Again, from the various texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we learn that Lava reigned over Uttara-Kośala, while Kuśa ruled over Kośala proper.[4] Śrāvastī was the capital of Uttarakośala, and Kuśāvatī, the capital of Kośala proper i.e. South Kośala, lay to the south of the Vindhyas.[5] The *Raghuvaṁśa*[6] also suggests the same location for Kuśāvatī, and this is apparently in the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region which was called Kośala at least before the middle of the fourth century when the Allahabad

1. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-09.
2. *I.G.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 406.
3. *C. A.*, p. 218.
4. Cf. *Kośaleṣu Kuśaṁ vīramuttareṣu tathā Lavam*, *Rām.*, VII, 120, 7.
5. *Rām.*, VII, 121, 4-5. See also *I. H. Q.*, III, 69-72. It may, however, be mentioned that Kuśīnārā, the famous city of the Mallas and site of the Buddha's Great Demise, was also known as Kuśāvatī. The city which stood on the little Gaṇḍak, is identified at present with Kasia (U.P.). See *Geo. Pur.*, p. 175.
6. *Raghu.*, XV, 97, XVI, 31 ff.

praśasti was composed.[1] Similarly, the *Mahābhārata* connects one Kośala kingdom with Bhojakaṭapura and other south Indian States.[2] The capital of South Kośala was sometimes called Kośalā.[3]

Among the countries of the south mentioned by Pāṇini in his *sūtras*, we find the name of Kośala,[4] which may be identical with South Kośala. The Purāṇas also mention a few countries (*Janapada*) including Kośala as being situated on the back of the Vindhyas.[5]

According to the Jaina *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, Kuśāvatī was the capital of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala.[6]

Cunningham thinks that Ptolemy mentions Chhattisgarh or Mahākośala as the country of Adisathri, bounded on the south by the Adisathron range of mountains, and having its capital at Sageda (possibly, Citrāṅgadapura or Maṇipura of the *Mahābhārata*, or modern Sirpur) with a fort in the north-east called Balantipurgon (possibly, the famous stronghold of Bandhogarh in Rewa).[7]

The *Ratnāvalī* mentions Dakṣiṇa Kośala as having been conquered by Udayana, king of Vatsa.[8]

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 212 n.; also *P. H. A. I.*, p. 538. Pargiter thinks that owing to the long stay of Rāma in the Chhattisgarh region during his exile, the place was connected with his home Kośala, and hence the name Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. See Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 278.

2. *Mbh.*, II, 31, 12.

3. *C. A.*, *loc. cit.*

4. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 171, Cf. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, 3rd. ed., p. 11.

5. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p.12.

6. B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, 1968, p. 199; on the basis of the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* (Devchand Lal-bhai Jaina-pustakoddhara Series Nos. 52, 54. Bombay, 1920) 1, 12, Law thinks that the city is associated with the Vaitāḍhya range along which there were sixty Vidyādhara towns; *loc. cit.*

7. *A.S.R.*, XVII, p. 68. In the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśa Vibhāga* of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, BK III, Ch. VII, V. 38, Mahākośala has been referred to as identical with Old Kośala having its capital at Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā has probably been described as a Mahāpurī (Great City), the ancient capital of the Kośala Mahājanapada. In the opinion of D. C. Sircar, who edited the text, the name of Mahākośala thus appears to be wrongly applied by modern writers to indicate South Kosala i.e. the Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa See *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 99.

8. *Ratnāvalī*, Act IV.

From the accounts of Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) it appears that the Chinese pilgrim proceeded about 1800 or 1900 li (i.e. 300 to 317 miles) from Kaliṅga to the north-west to the kingdom of Kiao-sa-lo, or Kośala.[1] Accordingly Cunningham concludes that Vidarbha (Berar) was called Dakṣiṇa-Kośala in the early period.[2] Scholars like Fergusson and Grant, however, do not support Cunningham's view.[3] It is true that the description of Hiuen Tsang applies to Berar or Vidarbha; but it has been suggested that the name has been applied to the region to the east of Berar, say the Chanda District (now in Maharashtra), which was the western portion of the Kośala country.[4] The *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* categorically mentions two routes leading to the two different countries, viz., Vidarbha and Kośala.[5] Even after Hiuen Tsang there is no evidence to suggest that Vidarbha and Kośala are the identical State. It is thus not safe to rely on the uncorroborated testimony of Hiuen Tsang.

Besides a few references to some kings of Kośala in some Purāṇic passages, we know little about the early history of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. According to Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Mahāyāna teacher Nāgārjuna (C. 2nd century A.D.) lived for some time at a monastery near the capital of South Kośala, which was at that time ruled by a Sātavāhana king.[6] This Sātavāhana King is usually identified with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, although Kośala finds no mention in his inscriptions.[7] Sircar prefers to identify him with Gautamīputra Yajñaśātakarṇi, who flourished about the last quarter of the second century.[8]

1. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 438.

2. *Loc. cit.*, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 68.

3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1875, p. 260; *J.R.A.S.*, Beng. Br., Vol. LX, p. 115.

4. *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 262. Hiralal suggests that Bhandak (in Chanda District, now in Maharashtra) was the capital of Mahākośala which the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited in 639 A.D., and that later on it was shifted to Sirpur in the Raipur District; *I.C.P.B.*, p. 14.

5. Cf. *eṣa panthā Vidarbhāṇām asau gacchati Kośalān | Mbh.*, iii, 61.

6. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. Vol. II, p. 200.

7. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 469 note.

8. *C.A.*, *p.* 218.

From the Gunji inscription[1] it appears that king Kumāra Vīradattaśrī also probably belonged to the same century. King Mahendra was ruling in Kośala (i.e. South Kośala) about the middle of the fourth century when Samudragupta launched an expedition against the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha.[2]

The use of the Gupta Era and the influence of the coins of the Guptas in South Kośala indicate that the rulers of this region were subservient to the Imperial Guptas. A copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Bhīmasena II, discovered at Arang (Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh), was issued from Suvarṇa-nadī (i.e. the Sone) in the Gupta year 282 (601 A.D.)[3] The record of Bhīmasena II mentions his father Dayitavarman (II), his father Bhīmasena (I), his father Vibhīṣana, his father Dayita (I), and his father Śūra, all of whom bore the title *Mahārāja*. It seems that Śūra founded the line of kings in the northern part of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala in the second half of the fifth century when the Imperial Gupta dynasty had started to decline.

The kings of Śarabhapura were ruling contemporaneously with the Śūra family. As the charters issued from Śarabhapura are mostly discovered from the Raipur District, M.P., some scholars are inclined to believe that the city was situated near Śrīpura (Sripur), which later became their capital.[4] Other writers place Śarabhapura at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh, Sarabhagarh and other places.[5] The Kurud inscription of king Narendra (yr. 24)[6] shows that South Kośala remained a part of the Gupta empire even at the close of the fifth century. Mahā-Pravararāja, who was the last known member of the dynasty, flourished in the first half of the sixth century when the sovereignty of the soil passed to the family of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.

The people of Mekala, an ancient country that lay about the present Amarkantak hills, are referred to in the Purāṇic list of

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 48, where the name of the king is read as Kumāravadadatta.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 264.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 342, XXVI, p. 228; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 63.
4. Sircar in the *C.A.*, p. 219.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 19; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144 fn.
6. Cf. the Kurud plates of *Mahārāja* Narendra (Year 24), (a note on it made by D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 266 ff).

peoples.[1] The name Mekala is at present preserved in that of the Maikala range. The Purāṇas refer to the early kings of Mekalā which appears to have been the capital of the Mekala country.[2] The Bamhani grant speaks of the existence of a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī family of Mekala about the fifth century.[3] Bharatabala, a member of this Mekala family, married a princess of Kośalā named Lokaprakāśā possibly belonging to the Śarabhapurīya family. The Balaghat plates of Narendrasena Vākāṭaka[4] mention about his victory over the kings of Kośalā, Mekalā and Mālava in the latter half of the fifth century.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī ruler Tīvaradeva is described as having gained overlordship of the entire South Kośala,[5] while from the seal, he is known as *Kośalādhipati*. The inscriptions[6] of the family would make us believe that it occupied originally the vast areas of Central India, and later, invaded South Kośala and completed the conquest at the time of Tīvara.[7] Epigraphic evidence seems, however, to suggest that the Nalas subdued the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kośala not long after Bālārjuna (also known as Mahā-Śivagupta or Śivagupta), who flourished in the seventh century.[8]

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 33, 34 note.
2. *C.A.*, p. 222.
3. Cf. the Bamhani copper-plate grant, *Bhārata-kaumudī*, (Rewa Division) Vol.I, p. 215; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 132.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.
5. Cf. The Rajim plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff; and the Baloda plates, Fleet *op. cit.*, pp. 291 ff.
6. A few more inscriptions of the dynasty may be suggested; e.g., (1) The Sirpur inscription of Bālārjuna, (2) The Kharod (Bilaspur) inscription of Īśānadeva, brother of Nanna, *C.A.*, p. 221; (3) The Bhandak inscription, Mirashi in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227. Mirashi's view has been rejected by Sircar. See Sircar's view in the *C.A.*, p. 221 note and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 34 (the Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna).
7. It has also been suggested that Indrabalarāja (of the Sarangarh Grant), who was the Chief minister of king Sudevarāja of Śarabhapura, may be Tīvara's grandfather, who did not inherit his father's (Udayana's) kingdom, but accepted service under the Śarabhapurīyas, whom he (Indrabalarāja) or more probably his immediate successors ultimately overthrew. See *C. A.*, p. 221.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

It appears that the territories of the Nalas were mainly confined to the Bastar-Jaypore region,[1] and their capital was Puṣkarī (in Bastar).[2] According to Sircar[3] in the beginning the Nalas were cornered in the Bastar region by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs and the Cālukyas, but they recouped their position and occupied South Kośala sometime after the rule of Bālārjuna in the seventh century. It is not certain that they ruled that country till the rise of the Somavaṁśīs (about the middle of the tenth century).

The dynasty of the later Somavaṁśīs of Kośala was founded by king Śivagupta (C. 915-35 A.D.). It is to be noted that the records of the early rulers of the dynasty, like Mahābhavagupta I, Yayāti Mahāśivagupta and others, have been discovered from the Sambalpur region, and that they used to describe themselves as Trikaliṅgādhipati as well as the 'lord of Kośala'.[4] From a charter of the dynasty it appears that the king of Kośala (possibly, Yayāti Mahāśiva gupta) defeated the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala.[5]

From the Cola inscriptions[6] we learn that in course of its victorious marches, the army of Rājendracola I conquered Oḍhra-viṣaya (Orissa) and Kośalai-nāḍu after defeating Indraratha, who has been taken to be identical with Nahuṣa Mahābhavagupta III of the Somavaṁśa.[7] The Balijhari inscription shows that the next ruler, Mahāśivagupta III, freed both the *rāṣṭras* of Kośala and Utkala from the enemy's hands.[8] Kośala and Utkala thus were regarded as two parts of the Soma-

1. The Naḷavādi-viṣaya (identified with the present Bellary and Kurnool Districts) mentioned in the inscriptions of Cālukya Vikramāditya I (870-95 A.D.) and his son seems to point out the Nala settlement or the southern most province of the Nala empire. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

2. Cf. The Podagadh (in Jaypore, Orissa) inscription of Nala Skanda-Varman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 ff.

3. *C. A., loc. cit.*

4. *A.I.K.*, p. 146.

5. *J.A.S.L.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 117 ff. (originally published in *J.P.A. S.B.*, 1905, pp. 14-16).

6. For the Tiravalangadu and Tirumalai plates of Rājendracola I, see South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 205 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX pp. 132ff., respectively.

7. *S. E.*, p. 210.

8. *Loc. cit.*

vaṁśī kingdom about the middle of the eleventh century. The donor of the Balijhari record also assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.

The same Balijhari grant indicates that Rudradatta had been holding the post of *Mahāsāndhivigrahin* for both the countries of Utkala and Kośala during the reigns of both Uddyotakeśarin Mahābhavagupta IV and his father, Mahāśivagupta III.[1] Uddyotakeśarin seems to have been the last important ruler of the family.

In course of time, the Somavaṁśīs were not only driven out of the southern part of their kingdom by the Gaṅgas, but also lost Kośala. In the first part of the eleventh century Kaliṅgarāja, a descendant of a son of Kokkalla of Tripurī, conquered Dakṣiṇa Kośala (apparently the western part of South Kośala) and made Tummāṇa (Tumana in the Bilaspur District) his capital and ruled as a feudatory of the Tripurī family.[2] Ratnarāja, a ruler of this line possibly made Ratnapura the second capital of the family.[3] From the time of Jājalladeva, son of Ratnarāja, the family became independent.[4]

It may be mentioned here that the Nāgavaṁśī Sindas of Bastar (ancient Cakrakoṭa) and their Telugu-Cola feudatories played a significant role in rooting out the Somavaṁśī rule from Kośala.

The Barsur and Patinar inscriptions (1060 A.D.)[5] speak of Candrāditya, the ruler of Ammagrāma, as a feudatory of the Sinda-Nāga king Jagadekabhūṣaṇa, who had his capital at Bārasūru (i.e. Barsur in Bastar). In the Kuruspal inscription (fragmentary) Someśvara I,[6] son of Jagadekabhūṣaṇa, claims as possessing a large part of South Kośala. He seems to have obtained

1. *Ibid.*, 112.p.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 213; *A.I.K.*, pp. 64-65.

3. Cf. The Ratanpur Stone inscription of Jājalladeva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

4. *Loc. cit.*, Jājalla claims to have received tributes from the chiefs of the *maṇḍalas* of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, Andhra, Khimdī (Orissa), Vairāgara (Chanda District, Maharashtra), Lañjikā (Balaghat District, M. P.), Bhāṇḍāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura (Daṇḍaka on the Seuṇa-deśa's border), Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa.

5. *I.C.P.B.* pp. 138-58.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.

this success at the expense of both the Kalacuris and the Somavaṁśīs. The Telugu-Cola ruler Yaśorāja I, father of Candrāditya, also described himself as the 'lord of Kośala'. According to Sircar, it is possible that "Yaśorāja I entered Kośala as a lieutenant of Someśvara I and was rewarded with the governorship of a portion of the country he had conquered on behalf of his overlord".[1] Again, the claim of the descendants of Yaśorāja I as to the overthrow of the Somavaṁśī *Kumāra* Someśvara of the areas around Suvarṇapura (Sonpur), suggests that the later Somavaṁśīs acknowledged the authority of the Sindas.[2]

The Mahada plate[3] of Telugu-Cola Someśvaravarman III (C. 1155-80 A.D.), like other records of the same family of the Kumārisiṁha[4] and Patna Museum[5] plates, indicate that the headquarters of the family was at Suvarṇapura (Sonpur). Though all these rulers were feudatories of the Sinda-Nāgas, it may be said on the basis of the both paramount and subordinate titles attributed to Someśvaravarman III in the Mahada plates that the Telugu-Cola king became a de facto independent ruler by that time.[6]

It thus appears that though, as Hiralal[7] thinks, Bilaspur and Raipur formed the central portion of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, it sometimes embraced a greater area. The Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna[8] points out that a subordinate of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mannarāja of South Kośala was ruling over the Vindhya region as far as the banks of the Wardha, a tributary of the Godāvarī. This seems to support, as scholars believe, the suggestion, based on the evidence of the Bhandak inscription,[9] that Nannarāja's dominions included the area about the Chanda District of Maharashtra. On the east (South

1. *S. E.*, p. 217.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.
4. *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 229 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.
6. *S. E.*, p. 221.
7. S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, p. 65.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 34.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227. For Sircar's view see *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 34, and *C.A.*, p. 221.

Kośala) included at times a considerable portion of the present day Orissa. From the inscriptions of the later Somavaṁśīs of South Kośala, it appears that they ruled over the Sambalpur and Bolangir Districts and later also over the Puri-Cuttack region.[1] Dey identified Dakṣiṇa-Kośala with the Gondwana region which is the Gaḍ Kaṭanga of the Muhammadan historians, situated to the east of Nagpur.[2]

6. *Mālava*

Though the name of the Mālavas is one of the most well known peoples in ancient Indian ethnography, their original habitat is still a vexed problem to the Indologists. Pāṇini refers to the Mālavas as war-like people.[3] The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali also mentions the Mālavas as a *Saṅgha* (tribe).[4] The *Mahābhārata* seems to have referred to this martial race along with the Kṣudrakas.[5] Scholars generally connect the Mālavas with the Malloi (of Greek historians), who, according to McCrindle, lived in the land lying to the north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab at the time of Alexander's invasion.[6] From the Punjab, the Mālavas, or at least a large section of the tribe, migrated to Rajasthan, perhaps owing to the pressure of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian invaders. The Mālavas of Rajsthan had their capital at Mālavanagara (modern Nagar or Karkotanagar in the Tonk District), and are said to be the earliest Indian people to have used the Vikrama Saṁvat of 58 B.C.[7] The geographical name Mālava or Malwa must have been derived from the name of the Mālava

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 103; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 136; and *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 102, 198.
2. *G.D.A.M.I.*, pp. 103-04.
3. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V, 3, 114.
4. *Mahābhāṣya*, IV, 1, 168.
5. Cf. *Kṣudrakamālavaiḥ*; see A. Banerjee-Sastri in *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 309-10.
6. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 357.
7. *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 5-6. Thousands of Mālava Coins were discovered at the village of Nagar (ancient Mālavanagara). From Nagar the political influence of the Mālava people possibly spread over other areas of Rajasthan, and this is known from the inscriptions discovered bearing the kṛta-Mālava era, in the various parts of the State. *S.G.A.M.I.*, (2nd ed.). pp 205 ff.

peoples, who in course of time settled in different parts of the country. The Mālava region in Central India became well-known under this name much later than the second century A.D. when its eastern part was known as Ākara (or Daśārṇa) with its capital at Vidiśā, and its western part as Avanti with Ujjayinī as its capital.[1] Vidiśā is equated with Besnagar, a village near Bhilsa-Vidisha, and Ujjayinī is the present Ujjain. These Ākara (Daśārṇa) and Avanti regions later came to be known as Mālava.

According to some, there was a long drawn struggle between the Mālavas using the Kṛta era of 58 B.C. and the Kārddamaka Śakas using the Śaka era of 78 A.D. in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.[2] Ultimately, both the powers had to submit to the Guptas. The Mālavas were subjugated by Samudragupta (C. 335-76 A.D.) along with other tribal States,[3] while the Śakas were finally extirpated by Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.).[4] It appears that after the extinction of the Śakas, the Aulikaras, apparently a Mālava dynasty like the Sogins and Maukharis, flourished at Daśapura (i.e. in West Malwa) under the Guptas.[5] So, it may be conjectured that the Aulikaras were responsible for the name Mālava being applied to a wide region including the old territory of Avanti and Ākara.[6]

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, however, distinguishes the Ujjayinī (Wu-she-yen-na) region from the Mālava (Mo-la-p'o) country, which was near the Mahī (Mo-ha) river in Gujarat.[7] Mo-la-p'o has been identified with Mālavaka or Mālavaka-*āhāra*, mentioned in the Valabhī grants[8] as included in the kingdom of the Maitrakas. On the contrary, the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, who was the famous writer in the court of Harṣa-

1. Cf. Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 203-07; Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, *ibid.*, pp. 175-80.
2. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 11.
3. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 263 ff.
4. Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxlv; also Sircar in *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1944, pp. 78 ff.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 11-12.
6. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 12.
7. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 242, 245-47.
8. Cf. Two C. P. Grants of Maitraka Dhruvasena II Bāladitya (629-43 A.D.); see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1346-47.

vardhana and contemporary of Hiuen Tsang and the said Valabhī kings, clearly states that Ujjayinī was the capital of Avanti, while Vidiśā, of the Mālava country.[1] Again, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita* mentions Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, sons of the 'Later Gupta' king Mahāsenagupta as *Mālava-rājaputra* and the usurper of Mahāsenagupta's throne (i.e. king Devagupta known from the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harṣa) as Mālavarāja.[2] Here Mālava is most probably identical with Pūrva-Mālava, as lying to the east of Avanti and to the north of the Godāvarī (i.e. East Malwa).[3]

Thus we find that about the beginning of the seventh century, there were at least two Mālava territories, one in the Mahī Valley in Gujarat and the second in East Malwa.[4]

In the opinion of Sircar, the use of the name Mālava in the ancient *Janapada* of Ākara or Daśārṇa (East Malwa) region was made popular by the 'So-called Later Guptas' who possibly represented another branch of the Mālava family, like the Aulikaras of West Malwa.[5] But the application of the name Mālava to Avanti (West Malwa) was not quite popular before the Paramāra occupation of that area in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.[6] For, the early Paramāras, who ruled over the Mālava country near the Mahī river, were known as 'the Mālavas'.[7]

1. *Kādambarī* (ed. Siddhāntavāgīśa, pp. 19, 183.)
2. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 295-96 and notes.
3. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 91.
4. We can cite here evidence in support of both the cases. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 22) refers Mālava along with Lāṭa and Gurjjara, and it was apparently the first of the two. The *Kādambarī* tradition is again followed in the *Jayamaṅgala* commentary (13th Cent. A.D.) on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 22 and 24) and in the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra. See *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 91-92. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* mentions Avanti, Vaidiśa and Mālava separately (G.O.S., p. 9). Muslim writers of the early mediaeval period also distinguish between Uzain (Ujjayinī) and Al-Malibah (Mālava); see Sircar, *Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 28, note 4.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 12.
6. The Arthuna record of 1080 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff) refers to Paramāra Harṣa as the king of Mālava. The Paramāra Sindhurāja (Navasāhasāṅka) (997-1000 A.D.) assumed a name of the traditional Śakāri Vikramāditya of Mālava and his son Bhoja (1000-53 A.D.) greatly popularised the Vikramāditya saga; See *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 17-18.
7. *D.H.N.I.*, Vol.II, pp. 848-51.

Even in the late mediaeval period the country of Mālava (Malwa) continued to be very popular, and, in fact, in the '*Ain-i-Akbari* we have an account about the extent of Malwa. In the words of the great author, "its length from the extreme point of Garha (Mandla) to Banswarah is 245 kos. Its breadth from Chanderi to Nandurbar is 230 kos. To the east lies Bandhun (Rewa); to the north Narwar; to the south Baglanah; to the west Gujarat and Ajmer."[1]

At present by the name Mālava (Malwa) we generally understand the regions of old Central India Agency including the former Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Bhopal and other States and also some neighbouring regions of the old Central Provinces, like the Sagar District.[2] After independence most of these native States were incorporated in the new State of Madhya Bharat which was ultimately merged with the Madhya Pradesh.

It may be mentioned that the name Mālava-Malwa is found to be borne by smaller and less known areas far away from the above region. Thus we find Malwa, a village in the Fatehpur District (U.P.), Malvan, a subdivision of Ratnagiri District (Maharashtra), or Mālava or Male-nāḍu (a Dravidian expression meaning 'the hilly district') in the Tamil-speaking areas. Anantapāla, a feudatory of the later Cālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇa claims to have conquered the seven Mālava (Sapta-Mālava) countries upto the Himālayas.[3] Though the seven Mālavas cannot be properly identified, Sircar attempts to connect them with the various Mālavas known so far, viz., those in the Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa, Fatehpur, Ratnagiri and Tamilnad.[4]

As to the origin of the name 'Mālava', it has been suggested that it is derived from the Dravidian word *malai* (hill) and that the word meant originally a Dravidian hill tribe. But the earliest trace of the Mālava tribe is found in the Punjab, far away from the present habitat of the Dravidian speaking people of South India.[5] Smith thinks that they were of foreign origin.[6]

1. The '*Ain-i-Akbari*', (trans. Jarrett and Sarkar), Vol. II, p. 206.
2. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 19 fn 3.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 229.
4. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 3.
5. In this connection attention may be drawn to the existence of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis in Baluchistan. See Hisley, *The People of India*, pp. 12-13.
6. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins of Indian Museum*, p. 161.

Allan points to their uncertain ethnic origin.[1] Banerjee-Sastri, however, says that the puzzle about their non-Indian origin is partially due to a lack of discrimination at an earlier stage between the Aryan and non-Aryan elements that fused and evolved the Mālava stock in Rajputana.[2]

7. Madurai-maṇḍalam,
8. Nāmanaikkoṇam,
9. Pañcapaḷḷi and
10. Māśuṇi-deśam.

The inscriptions of Rājendracola I state that the Cola army in course of their victorious march towards the north conquered first Śakkarakkoṭṭam (Cakrakoṭṭa or Cakrakūṭa), and afterwards, the places known as Madurai-maṇḍalam, Nāmanaikkoṇam, Pañcapaḷḷi and Māśuṇi-deśam.[3] These territories were situated to the north-west of the kingdom of Veṅgi, and are to be placed in the Bastar region.[4]

Literally, *Māśuṇi-deśam* implies the land of the snakes. The kings of the Sinda family of Bārasūru also used to describe themselves as *Nāgavaṁśodbhava*[5] (born of the cobra race). Accordingly, some scholars are inclined to believe that Māśuṇi-deśam is the land ruled by the early Sinda-Nāga rulers,[6] although others are of opinion, that the Sinda-Nāgas, as noticed earlier, entered Bastar in the train of the army of the Cola king Rājendra I.

Anyway, the fact remains that there was a Nāga family ruling over the area of Bastar, and it seems likely, as Nīlakantha Sastri[7] avers, that the places known as Madurai-maṇḍalam, Nāmanaikkoṇam and Pañcappaḷḷi were part of the Māśuṇi-deśam; or in other words, these names indicate different areas of the said country.

1. See Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, 1936.
2. A. Banerjee-Sastri in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XXIII, pp. 309-10.
3. Cf. The evidence of the Tiruvalangadu plates (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 205) and the Tirumali inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 132-33).
4. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cholas*, 1935, pp. 249 ff; *S. E.*, p. 237.
5. Cf. The Rajapur inscription of Madhurāntaka (1065 A.D.), *I.C.P.B.* pp. 163-64.
6. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 250.
7. *Loc. cit.*; also cf. *S.E.*, *loc. cit.*

It appears that Śakkarakkoṭṭam or Cakrakūṭa was first conquered by the Cola army advancing from the far south, and was probably the southern part of Bastar, while the Māśuṇi-deśam, which was conquered by the Colas immediately after Śakkarakkoṭṭam, is to be placed in the northern part of the Bastar region. It may, however, be suggested that Cakrakūṭa which is sometimes called a *maṇḍala*,[1] like Madhurai-maṇḍalam, etc., was also a part of the Māśuṇi-deśam. The name of Māśuṇi-deśam does not appear in the later records, and the entire Bastar region came to be known as Cakrakūṭa, at least, perhaps, during the time of the Nāgavaṁśī-Sindas.[2]

1. *I.C.P.B., loc. cit.*; *Ep. Ind., op. cit.*, p. 178-79.
2. Cf. The Kuruspal fragmentary inscription of Someśvara I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.

B. DISTRICTS

In ancient times, the states of India were divided and subdivided into different administrative units, the nature of which depended on the size of the State itself. The designations of these divisions sometimes differed from State to State and time to time. In the time of Aśoka, Avantiraṭṭha[1] with its headquarters at Ujjayinī was one of the Provinces into which the Maurya empire was divided. From the age of the Guptas, a more detailed information about the administrative divisions of Madhya Pradesh is available. From the inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, it appears that the largest administrative unit was *deśa*, corresponding to the province of the modern times.[2] The next lower administrative unit was *viṣaya* or *pradeśa*.[3] In the later period, the place of *viṣaya* was taken by *maṇḍala* in the south and *pattalā* in the north.[4] A *viṣaya* was subdivided into smaller units which were generally called *āhāra*.[5] An *āhāra* contained smaller territorial units called *pathaka*.[6] *Bhoga* and *pathaka* usually contained several towns.[7] The names of villages, which formed the smallest territorial units, generally ended in *Kheṭa*, *pāṭaka*, *padra*, *padraka*, *pallī* of *grāma*.[8]

It may be mentioned here that sometimes *maṇḍala* or *deśa* was used in the sense of the kingdom or the country as a whole;

1. Cf. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XIII : *The Questions of king Milinda*, pt. II, p. 250 n.; *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, p. 98; also *P.H.A.I.*, p. 287.
2. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. CXXXIII; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 560.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *C.I.I., op. cit.*, p. CXXXIV.
5. *Ibid.*, p. CXXXIII; Cf. the Navsari (Gujarat) plate of Sūryāśraya Śilāditya.
6. *C.I.I., loc. cit.*
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. Cf. Pippalakheṭa (*C.I.I., op. cit.*, No. 25), Dhaṅgoṭapāṭaka (*op. cit.*, No. 45) Vatapallika (*I.C.P.B.*, pp. 94-5), Vāṇapadra (*op. cit.*, pp. 100, 104), Ghuikheṭa (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

as for example, Mālava-maṇḍala[1] refers to the country of Mālava (Malwa), Cedi-maṇḍala,[2] Cedi-deśa[3] or Dāhala-maṇḍala[4] to the Cedi country or Kalacuri kingdom, and Hūṇa-maṇḍala,[5] to the territory of the Hūṇas to the north of Malwa.

The Gupta inscriptions offer the names of such administrative units as Śukuli-deśa, Ḍabhālā and the country situated between the Kālindī and Narmadā rivers (*Kālindī -Narmadayormadhyaṁ*)[6] which may be placed in Madhya Pradesh. These are classified as *deśa*,[7] which was usually governed by the *Goptṛ*.[8] Śukuli-deśa is mentioned in the Sāñci stone inscription of Candragupta II.[9] According to Raychaudhuri, the Ḍabhālā region (the Jabalpur territory, also called Ḍāhala or Cedi) was connected with the Āṭavika-rājyas mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa.[10] In the later part of the 5th and early part of the 6th century A.D., the Ḍabhālā country was ruled by the Parivrājaka Mahārājas as feudatories of the Guptas.[11] The region between Kālindī (i.e. Jamuna) and Narmadā undoubtedly embraced East Malwa.[12] Sircar thinks, however, that rivers were taken to be the natural boundaries of some of the Gupta viṣayas, and the case of a traditional *viṣaya* named Antarvedī, lying between the Ganges and Jamuna and between Prayāga and Hardwar, may be cited as an instance in point.[13] The term *deśa* continued to signify the largest territorial unit even in a later period. The Daikoni plates of Pṛthvīdeva II

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 93.
3. Cf. *Cedi-deśāvadheḥ*, Khajuraho inscription of V.S.1011; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 135 ff.
4. Cf. Malkapuram inscription, *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 156-57.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 102; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 629.
6. Cf. *Kālindī-Narmadayormadhyaṁ pālayati Lokapāla-Gunaīrjagati.....*, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 335.
7. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 560.
8. Cf. *Sarveṣu deśeṣu vidhāya goptṛn*; *Sel. Ins.*, p 309.
9. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 281 ff.
10. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 538, 560.
11. Cf. Khoh inscription of Mahārāja Samkṣobha (529 A.D.), *Sel Ins.*, pp. 39 ff.; *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 112ff.
12. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 560.
13. See *Sel. Ins.*, p. 319, Note 7; also Cf. Indore C. P. inscription of Skandagupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff.

(Kalacuri 890 = 1138 A.D.)[1] mention a village Budukuni, situated in the Madhya-deśa, which has been identified by Mirashi with the Madhya-maṇḍala of the Amoda plates[2] of the same ruler, and Budukuni with a place near Janjgir in the Bilaspur District. The Rajim stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896) mentions the country (*deśa(sa)*) of Kakaraya.[3] Kakaraya appears to be the same as Kanker, formerly a Feudatory State in Chhattisgarh. It also occurs in the Gurur stone inscription, which alludes to the reign of Vāghrarāja of Kakaraya (Kanker).[4] Vāghrarāja is possibly Vyāghrarāja of other inscriptions.[5]

The term *bhukti* also seems to have denoted a big territorial unit, although the term has been used very rarely in ancient Madhya Pradesh. The Mallar plates of Mahāśivagupta[6] mentions the Taraḍaṁśaka-bhukti, which is, according to Mirashi,[7] identical with the later Talahāri-maṇḍala[8] comprising the southern portions of the Bilaspur and Janjgir Tahsils and the northern portion of the Raipur District. The copper plate inscription of Gaonri dated 982 A.D.,[9] shows that Avantimaṇḍala comprised the *bhukti* of Madhuka (modern Mhow in Indore) and the Ujjayinī viṣaya. The Rajim plates of Tīvaradeva[10] records the village of Pimparipadraka as belonging to the Peṇṭhama-bhukti, both of which, however, remain unidentified. The kingdom of the Candellas was also known as Jejāka-bhukti. It is possible that formerly it was an administrative unit, but later on, with the rise of the Candellas, it became simply the name of their kingdom. According to the

1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 86, p. 444.
2. Cf. The Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 900), *C.I.I. op. cit.*, No. 91, p. 475. The Rajim inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896) refers to one Vaḍahara-deśa, which was probably situated in the country under the rule of the Bhañjas (of Orissa); *op. cit.*, p. 453.
3. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 88.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p.137.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 124, 183.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 120.
7. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 503.
8. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 411, 453, 466-67, 503.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 102.
10. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff.; *I.C.P.B.*, p. 97.

lexicons the term *viṣaya* implies *deśa, upavartana, janapada* and *rāṣṭra*.[1] The term is noticed in Pāṇini,[2] in the *Mahābhārata*,[3] and also in Hemacandra.[4] In the inscriptions, it suggests a small area and not a big territory. Among the *viṣayas* in the Gupta records, mention may be made of the Tripurī and Airikiṇa *viṣayas*.[5] Tripurī is identified with modern Tewar on the Narmadā, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur. Airikiṇa is modern Eran on the river Bina, a tributary of the Betwa. In Samudragupta's inscription, Airikiṇa is mentioned as a *pradeśa*,[6] while the inscription of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa calls it a *viṣaya*.[7] It appears that *pradeśa* and *viṣaya* were sometimes used as synonyms. Under the Guptas, the provincial governors were entrusted with the administration of Tripurī and Airikiṇa *viṣayas*.[8]

From a study of the Gurjjara Pratihara records, Puri observes that the *viṣaya* conveyed the idea of a modern *Tahsil* or a smaller district.[9] Mirashi holds that the term *viṣaya* denotes a district,[10] although their use is very limited under the Kalacuris. The Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja[11] refers to the grant of a village named Kontinīka in the Aṣṭadvāra-viṣaya, the headquarters of which may be identified with Adhabhara, the findspot of the plates, 40 miles from Bilaspur in the Sakti Tahsil of the Bilaspur District. Aṣṭadvāra-viṣaya is also mentioned in the Korba Sitamarhi inscription.[12] Mention may also be made of Anarghavalli *viṣaya*, appearing in the Sheorinarayan plates.[13] Though Mirashi takes Anarghavalli to be the modern Janjgir Tahsil, no such place has been found. The Jabalpur

1. B. N. Puri, *The Gurjjara-Pratihāras*, p. 107; Mirashi, however, takes *rāṣṭra* as subdivision of *viṣaya*, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. CXXXIII.
2. IV, 2, 252.
3. *Mbh.*, I, 75, 41.
4. *Abhidhāna*, p. 947.
5. *P.H.A.I.*, *loc.*, *cit.*
6. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 268 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 420 ff.
8. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 561.
9. B. N. Puri, *loc. cit.*
10. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. CXXXIII—CXXXIV.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219 ff.
12. *I.C.P.B.*,p.133.
13. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 128; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, pp. 31 ff.

stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 926)[1] mentions the *viṣaya* of Navapattalā, in which the village of Tekabhara was situated, as comprising the territory round the modern Nayākherā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhori (near Jabalpur).

The Candella records inform us of a number of *viṣayas* which may well correspond to the modern districts. Among these are the Suḍāli-viṣaya (near Vidisha i.e. former Bhilsa),[2] Pāniuli-viṣaya (Panna)[3] and the Vikrauni-viṣaya (Vikaura in Sagar District).[4] The Vikrauni-viṣaya which included the village of Lohasihani (modern Lohani in Bijawar) and Vikaura of the Semra plates are taken to be identical.[5] The Pitaśaila-viṣaya of the Ajaygarh inscription[6] may be identified with the locality around the Pīta hill (Pet hill of the former Orccha State, now in Rewa). The Paiśuni-viṣaya of a copper plate inscription of Paramardin[7] may also be placed in the valley of the Paiśuni river that flows through the Banda District (U.P.) into the Jamuna. The Bharatkala Bhavan plate of Madanavarman (v.s. 1192) mentions the name of Mahisineha-viṣaya (also called *pattalā*), which has not yet been identified.[8]

Maṇḍala and *viṣaya* are often used in the same sense. B. N. Puri, however, takes the *maṇḍala* as a larger unit than the *viṣaya*, and has tried to show from the Gurjjara Pratīhāra records that *maṇḍala* was used in the sense of a district smaller than the *bhukti* but larger than a *viṣaya*.[9] But, as Mirashi points out, during the period of Kalacuri ascendancy, the term *viṣaya* gave way to *maṇḍala* in the south and to *pattalā* in the north.[10] The inscriptions, discovered from Chhattisgarh, mention several *maṇḍalas*. These are mentioned below.

1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 333.
2. Cf. Nanyaura plate 'c', v.s. 1190, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207.
3. The Garra plates of v. s. 1261, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-77.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 10. [Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 153 ff.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 89.
7. See Plates of Paramardin (ed. Sircar), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI.
8. See Plates of Madanavarman (ed. Sircar), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI.
9. B. N. Puri, *op. cit.* pp. 106-09.
10. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxxxiv.

a) The Komo-maṇḍala[1] was the ancient name of the country surrounding the village Komo in the Pendra zamindari, 25 miles north-west of Ratanpur.

b) The name of *maṇḍala*, in which the donated village named Vasaha (present Basaha, 12 miles north-east of Bilaspur) was situated,[2] cannot be read with certainty. Hiralal[3] takes it to be Yuvapara-maṇḍala and identifies it with the territory round Jaijaipur, in the Janjgir tahsil, 10 miles from Amoda. Mirashi,[4] however, tentatively reads it as Apara-maṇḍala (i.e. the Western Division).

c) Madhya-maṇḍala occurs in both the sets of the Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva II.[5] It is already noted that Madhya Maṇḍala is equated with the Madhyadeśa as mentioned in the Daikoni plates of Pṛthvīdeva II,[6] which included the village of Budukuni (i.e. Daikoni, 7 miles north of Janjgir, Bilaspur District). Hiralal identifies the Madhya-maṇḍala with 'the tract owning the capital of the King', though Mirashi thinks that 'the territory roughly corresponding to the Janjgir tahsil must have been included in the Madhya-maṇḍala'.[7]

d) Sāmanta-maṇḍala,[8] which included the village of Goṭhadā (possibly Ghotia, in the Raipur District), appears to have comprised the outlying districts of the kingdom of Pṛthvīdeva II.

e) Talahāri-maṇḍala[9] is probably identical with the ancient Taraḍaṁśaka-bhukti of the Mallar plates of Mahāśivagupta as we have seen above.

f) Bhramarakoṭya-maṇḍala is perhaps the same as the Cakrakoṭya-maṇḍala appearing in the same Rajapura plates of Madhurāntakadeva.[10] Cakrakoṭya was the central portion

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 453.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*, The Raipur plate of Pṛthvīdeva I (*op. cit.* p. 399) also perhaps mentions the Apara-maṇḍala.
5. *C.I.I.*, *op cit.*, p. 475.
6. See. sura p. 155 fn. 1,2.
7. *C.I.I.*, *loc. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 480.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 503.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 174 ff.

of the Bastar District and is also mentioned in other records. Mirashi[1] thinks that Bhramaravadra deśa(sa) mentioned in the Rajim stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II, may be identical with the Bhramarakoṭya-maṇḍala.

Besides the *maṇḍalas* mentioned above, a few more appearing in the inscriptions cannot properly be identified. These are the Pūrṇapathaka-maṇḍala of the Māndhāta (Khargone District) plates of Jayasiṁhadeva,[2] the Evaḍi-maṇḍala of the Bilaigarh (Raipur District) plates of Pṛthvīdeva II,[3] the Uparahāḍa-maṇḍala of the Rahatgarh (Sagar District) stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva[4] and the Koṭharaka-maṇḍala of the Banur copper plate inscription of Acaladāsa.[5]

A more common term denoting a district was *pattalā* which appears to have been current over a wide area in the mediaeval period.[6] The Rewa plates of the Maharanakas of Kakareḍikā suggest that *pattalā* included a number of villages, as the villages of Rehi and Agaseyi were within the Vaddharā -pattalā,[7] and the village of Ahaḍāpāḍa in the Khandagahā-pattalā.[8] The Dhureti plates of Trailokyamalla refer to Dhovahaṭṭa-pattana situated in the Dhanavāhi-pattalā, the headquarters of which is *identical with* Dhanavāhi, 22 miles to the south-west of Dhobat, about 10 miles south of Rewa.[9] *Pattalā* sometimes denoted a type of village-group. According to Mirashi it might have been divided into smaller administrative units of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages, but they are mentioned rarely in the records of the mediaeval period.[10] The Bharat Kala Bhavan plates of Madanavarman (v.s. 1192)[11] refer to one Astavāla-grāma in Eraccha-pattalā (Erich on the Betwa). Among the

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 74.
3. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 49-50.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
6. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxxxiv.
7. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231-35.
8. Cf. Rewa plate of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 926); *C.I.I. op. cit.*, p. 341.
9. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
10. *Ibid.*, p. cxxxiv.
11. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXXI.

other *pattalās* alluded to in these plates, mention may be made of the Tintiri-pattalā, which is identified with the Teonthar Tahsil of Rewa,[1] and Kolava-pattalā (not yet identified).

From the Kalacuri records also we find the names of a number of *pattalās* which are mostly identified. These are as follows:—

a) The Devagrāma-pattalā[2] is identified with the locality round Deogavan, close to the village of Khairha in Rewa, 'where there are a number of very old wells and water-reservoirs together with the remains of old buildings' (Hiralal).

b) The Khaṇḍagahā-pattalā[3] may be identified with the locality round the modern village Kandaihli, about 6 miles west by south of Kakrehi (Rewa).

c) The Dhanavāhi-pattalā[4] has already been mentioned.

d) The Revā-pattalā,[5] perhaps, comprised the territory round the modern town of Rewa.

e) The Jauli-pattalā[6] may be identified with the territory surrounding the present Jabalpur city.

f) The Nava-pattalā or the *viṣaya* of Navapattalā[7] has already been discussed above.

g) The Kūyīsambapālisa-pattalā[8] may be identified with the territory round Kūyīsambapālisa (modern village of Kooiah about 12 miles east by south of Kakrehi.

h) Sambalā-pattalā[9] may be placed in the Jabalpur region of Madhya Pradesh.

It may be suggested that either *pattalā* and *viṣaya* were used in an identical sense or that the *pattalā* bearing the name of a *viṣaya* might have been used for the sadar subdivision of the district.[10]

1. S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 161 note. The Tintri-pattalā included the village of Pipalahā which may be the same as Pipal-(oau) mentioned in the Alhaghat Stone inscription; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.
2. Cf. Khairha plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa, v.s. 823; *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 292.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 341.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 360.
9. *Ibid.*, p. CXXXIV.
10. S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

In some stray records, other terms like *bhūmi* and *uddeśa* are noticed.[1] Mirashi takes the expression 'Vāsudev-Oddeśe' of the Khairha plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa (Kalacuri 823-1076 A.D.) to mean 'in the District of Vāsudeva'.[2] An analogous expression 'Vāsudeva-Khaāṇa-viṣaya', which denotes a territorial division, occurs in the Ganjam (in Orissa) plates of Raṇabhañjadeva.[3]

Sometimes, we came across such geographical terms as *caurāśī* indicating a group of 84 villages, and this was quite popular in different parts of India.[4] There are numerous other numbers similarly associated with geographical units. As for example, an inscription of Paramāra Udayāditya, dated V.S. 1229 (1171 A.D.),[5] mentions the area around Vidisha (M.P.), in the former Gwalior State as Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala (i.e. the district called Bhāillasvāmin consisting of twelve subdivisions). It also mentions a Subdistrict consisting of sixty-four villages as the Bhṛṇgārikā-Catuḥṣaṣṭi *pathaka*.[6] A *pratijāgaraṇaka* or Pargana within the dominions of the Paramāra Kings of Malwa is called Saptāśīti-pratijāgaraṇaka (i.e. Pargana consisting of 87 villages) in an inscription of v.s. 1331.[7] The Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna also mentions one Navyāsī-viṣaya, probably a locality within or near South Kośala. *Navyāśī* may have denoted Sanskrit *navāśīti* in the sense of an administrative unit consisting of 89 villages.

Among other *pratijāgaraṇakas* mentioned in the Paramāra inscriptions reference may be made to the following:

a) The Mahuaḍa-pratijāgaraṇaka[8] included the village Satājunā which still exists under the same name, about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā (Khargone District). Mahuaḍa, the headquarters of the *pratijāgaraṇaka*, if probably Mohod, about 25 miles south of Satājunā.[9]

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. CXXXIII.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. See 'Caurāsī' in *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 198 ff.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 344 ff.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 210-11.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 140, *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 199.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 103; *I.C.P.B.*, p. 75.

b) The Nāgadaha-pratijāgaraṇaka,[1] probably had its headquarters at Nagdah near Ujjayinī (Ujjain), and

c) The Vardhanāpura-pratijāgaraṇaka[2] is not properly identified.

The units known as *avasthā* and *ābhoga* sometimes stand for subdivisions, e.g., *Rājapur-āvasthāvāṁ Raṇamaua-Saṃvaddhaṁ Kathahaugrāma*, i.e. the village of Kaṭhahau, attached to Raṇamaua, included in the Rājapura-āvasthā,[3] and again, in the Drug Stone inscription[4] we have the Kikkiḍ-ābhoga which included the village of Mandhyatā. Both of them remain untraced. The Kurud plates of a Narendra (year 24)[5] mentions the Cullāḍa-Sīma-bhoga, i.e. in the *bhoga* bordering on Cullāḍa, a village 7 miles east of Keshwa. The Cullāḍa-Sīma-bhoga seems to have included the village of Keśavaka, i.e. modern Keshwa in the Mahasamund Tahsil. Another inscription of Narendra (year 3) refers to the Nandapur-bhoga which included Śarkarapadraka.[6] According to Sircar, the names of Nandapur and Śarkara are preserved in modern Nandgaon and Sakra in the old Sarangarh State.[7]

An *āhāra*, which was the subdivision of a *viṣaya*, contained smaller territorial units called *pathaka*. Bāhirikā, which is mentioned in the Eran inscription as a subdivision of Nagendr-āhāra, was probably a *pathaka*.[8] A *pathaka* contained a number of towns whose names generally ended in *nagara* or *pura* e.g. Lavaṇanagara,[9] Durlabhapura,[10] etc. Sometimes towns were named after the kings or queens who founded them, e.g., Ratnapura founded by Ratnadeva I,[11] Jājallapura by Jājalladeva I[12] and Gosalapura by Gosaladevi.[13]

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 147 ff.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Cf. Nanyaura plate 'B', see S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
4. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 3-4.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.
6. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 ff.
7. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 489, note 2.
8. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. CXXXIII.
9. Cf. Bilahri inscription Yuvarāja II, *Ibid.*, pp. 208-09.
10. *Loc. cit.*
11. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 116-17. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 411.
12. *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
13. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. CXXXIV.

Villages granted to the Brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāra*[1] or *Bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra*.[2] These rent-free villages are often mentioned in the Candella records, e.g. Dhakāri, Naṁgava, Phaṇḍiva, Mutāusa and Mutautha.[3]

The following places seem to have enjoyed the status of districts, though the inscriptions do not help much in ascertaining their actual position in the administrative set-up of the Country to which they belonged.

Bhaṭṭavila

The name occurs in the Rajim Stone inscription of Jagapāladeva,[4] and has been identified with the Baghelkhand region, i.e. the eastern part of the present Rewa Division. It appears that Bhaṭṭavila became an integral part of the kingdom of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur.

Dāṇḍora

The Rajim Stone inscription of Kalacuri 896 shows that Dāṇḍora was conquered by one Jagapāladeva during the reign of Pṛthvīdeva II of Ratanpur.[5] Mirashi identifies Dāṇḍora with the former State of Sarguja, which was once called Bais Dandor, as it included 22 (i.e. *Bais*) Zamindaris.[6]

Kāndā-doṅgara

This occurs in the Rajim Stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II.[7] Mirashi takes it to be the southern portion of the former Bindra-Navagadh Zamindari, where a range of hills (*doṅgara*) still goes by the name of *Kāndā*.

Nāgadeya-Santaka

The Karitalai record mentions the Nāgadeya-Santaka which included the village of Chandapallikā.[8] Cunningham[9] takes it to be Nagod, although Fleet[10] objects to this identification.

1. *Ibid.*, p. CXXXIII.
2. S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 106 ff.
5. Cf. *Eka-viṁśa-śataiḥ grāmaiḥ Dāṇḍoraṁ samupārjjitam*, V. 5 of the Rajim Stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896), *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 450 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 453.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 12.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.

Sundarikāmārga

The Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva[1] mentions Sundarikāmārga which included the village called Menkiḍḍaka. It was granted for the benefit of a rest-house established at Bilvapadraka. The record was issued from Śrīpura, i.e. the present Sripur. But the location of Sundarikāmārga like that of the villages of Menkiḍḍaka and Bilvapadraka remains uncertain. Baloda, the findspot of the plates, is a village in the former Phuljhar Zamindari, 120 miles from Raipur.

Tamanāla

From the Rajim stone inscription of Kalacuri 896 it appears that Tamanāla was conquered together with Ratha and Tera by one Jagapāla during the reign of Jājalladeva of the Kalacuri dynasty of Ratanpur.[2] We do not come across these place-names elsewhere. Hiralal[3] places these regions to the north of the former Raigarh State. Mirashi is, however, not certain about this identification.[4]

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.
2. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 450 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 452, note 6.
4. *Loc. cit.*

Chapter VI

CAPITALS, CITIES AND TOWNS

A CAPITALS

Bārasūru

A number of inscriptions of the rulers belonging to the family of the Nāgavaṁśī Sindas have been discovered in Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. Their capital appears to have been established at Bārasūru, modern Barsur, about 55 miles from Jagdalpur, chief town of Bastar.[1] The Barsur inscription of 1060 A.D.[2] refers to Candrāditya, a feudatory of the Sinda king Jagadekabhūṣaṇa, as having built a temple of Śiva and excavated a tank at Bārasūru. Candrāditya also purchased a village from his overlord and dedicated it in favour of Lord Śiva. It appears that while Jagadekabhūṣaṇa was ruling from Bārasūru, the feudatory chief had his headquarters at Ammagrāma.[3] The Pontiner inscription[4] of the same year also gives similar information regarding the Sinda capital. The power and prestige of the Nāgavaṁśī Sindas greatly increased under Someśvara I, the son of Jagadekabhūṣaṇa. The fragmentary Kuruspal inscription of Someśvara I[5] leaves no doubt that Someśvara I became the king of a large part of South Kośala.[6]

Dhārā

Dhārā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a sacred Tīrtha though its location is uncertain.[7]

According to Fleet, one of the earliest mention of the city of Dhārā is found in the Jaunpur Stone inscription of the time

1. *S. E.*, p. 214.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 158-59.
3. *S. E.*, p. 216.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
6. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
7. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 84, 25.

of the Maukhari King Īśvaravarman.[1] Sircar, however, does not agree with this view. In his opinion, the city of Dhārā became famous in the age of the Paramāras. He assigns the Jaunpur inscription to Īśvaravarman's son Īśānavarman, ruling in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D.[2]

The early Paramāras who ruled over the Mālava country near the Mahī river, were known as 'Mālava'.[3] Vākpati I, the great-grandfather of Vākpati II Muñja, appears to have been a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.[4] Vākpati I and his immediate successors were the governors of the Kheṭaka (Kaira) country near the Mahī Valley of Gujarat,[5] which, as noticed earlier, was known as Mālava to Hiuen Tsang.[6] The Arthuna inscription (dated 1080 A.D.)[7] makes Harṣa Sīyaka, father of Vākpati II, the king of the Mālavas. But according to Sircar[8] it is not known for certain that the Paramāra dominion covered the whole of the present Malwa region before Vākpati II, who is known from the Dharampuri plates[9] to have made Ujjayinī his royal residence by 975 A.D. The city of Dhārā rose to political eminence with the occupation of Western Malwa by the Paramāras in latter half of the tenth century A.D. The application of the name of Mālava to West Malwa, i.e., Avanti or the Ujjayinī region also became popular during this period.[10]

With the accession of Bhoja I (C.1000-55 A.D.), the son of Sindhurāja, Dhārā obtained the status of an imperial city.[11]

1. *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 228 ff.
2. Cf. *Dhārā-mārga-vinirgat-āgni-kaṇikā* (7). This passage has been interpreted by Fleet as "a spark of fire that had come by the road from Dhārā". But Sircar takes it to mean "the sparks issuing from the passage of the (hero's) sword" and thinks that it "has nothing to do with the city of Dhārā". *J.I.H.*, 1964 (April), pp. 129-30.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, vol. II, pp. 848-51.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.
5. *D.H.N.I.*, vol. II, p. 850.
6. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, pp. 242, 245-47.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff.
8. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 18.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.
10. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 12.
11. *S.E.*, p. 66.

But Bhoja I is said to have tasted defeat at the hand of the Cālukya king Someśvara I who plundered Ujjayinī and Maṇḍapa (modern Mandu), and even the capital Dhārā, from where Bhoja possibly fled away.[1]

Bhoja I was not only a great soldier, but an erudite scholar as well. He is believed to have written more than 23 books. His court at Dhārā was graced by such outstanding personalities of the time as Dhanapāla, Uvaṭa and others.[2] Bhoja I is also believed to be the 'greatest builder and lover of art of the dynasty'.[3] The image of Sarasvatī placed by him in the Sarasvatī-mandira, a sort of a University of learning, at Dhārā, is a unique creation of Paramāra sculpture.[4]

In later days[5] Dhārā became a target of successive attacks by the rulers of the neighbouring dynasties, like the Caulukyas, Vāghelas of Gujarat and Cāhamānas, and at least it was sacked by Sultan Balban in 1250 A.D.[6] Later, as a result of the invasion of 'Alā-ud-dīn (1305 A.D.), Mālava was conquered by the Muslims.[7]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 171-72.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 658.
4. *Loc. cit.* The *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* (composed between the 11th and 13th centuries) says how king Bhoja of Dhārā (11th century) found a throne that was once presented by Indra to Vikramāditya. When the king attempted to ascend the throne, each of the 32 statuettes supporting it told him a story of king Vikramāditya and obtained release. See Edgerton, *Harvard Oriental Series*, No. 26, p. lii.
5. The city of Dhārā continued to remain the capital of the Paramāras for a very long period. Below we mention some inscriptions which refer to Dhārā as the royal seat of the Paramāras.
   a) Rahatgarh stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, p. 84.
   b) Mandhata C.P. of Jayasiṁhadeva, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 46ff.
   c) Mandhata plates of Devapāladeva, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 103. From here we know that Vindhyavarman of the Paramāra dynasty recovered Dhārā, which must have been occupied by the enemy (i.e. the Caulukyas of Gujarat).
   d) Harsauda inscription of Devapāladeva, v.s. 1275, *Ind.Ant.*, vol. XX, pp. 310-11.
6. *S. E.*, p. 71.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Dhārā is modern Dhar, the headquarters of the district of the same name.

Kharjūravāhaka

The name 'Kharjūravāhaka' is mentioned in the Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhaṅga, V.S. 1059,[1] and this is the present Khajuraho, a small village, 27 miles to the east of Chatarpur in the Rewa Division. Though the name Kharjūravāhaka is associated with the *Kharjūra* trees (i.e. date palms), not a single date palm is to be seen here now.[2] A few date palms were noticed by Cunningham, who also refers to a legend, according to which one of the gates of the city, which was possibly surrounded by walls on all sides, was adorned with a pair of gold *Kharjūra* trees.[3]

The Khajuraho temples, now about 25 in number, though formerly said to be no less than 85, 'form a veritable temple city in surroundings which are forested.'[4] Cunningham mentions one Rajnagar within 4 miles from Khajuraho.[5] Sankalia holds that if this place is proved to be old one, it might be the site of the ancient city of Kharjūravāhaka, the present site being a religious centre only.[6]

It was the Candellas who gave this old city of temples a distinctive status, 'for which it enjoys a unique celebrity even today'.[7]

The kingdom of the Candellas was known variously as Jejākabhukti, Jejābhukti, Jijhoti, Jajāhūti, Jajhoti, etc., and the Chinese Chih-chi-to or Chi-ki-to may be an equivalent to Jajhoti. Hiuen Tsang (641-42 A.D.), who places the kingdom of Chih-chi-to more than 1000 *li* to the north-east of Ujjayinī,

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol.I, p. 147, lines 32-33.
2. *J.I.H.*, 1966 (April), p. 33.
3. *A.S.R.*, vol. XXI, p. 55. Cunningham also suggests that Ptolemy's Sandrabatis or Sandabatis was the name of the kingdom, while among the cities mentioned Kuraparina may be Khajuraho or Kharjūrapura, Empelathra Mahoba (U.P.) and Nadubandagar Narwar (ancient Nalapura, M.P.). *Ibid.*, p. 58.
4. Sankalia in *J.I.H.*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
5. *A.S.R.*, vol. II, p. 412.
6. *J.I.H.*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
7. Mitra, *The Early rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 1.

and more than 900 *li* to the south of Maheśvarapura (Gwalior),[1] does not mention the name of its capital, but observes, "its capital about 15 *li* in circuit. . . . The king, who was a Brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers."[2] Following the distance referred to by Hiuen Tsang, Smith suggests that Eran (ancient Airikiṇa) on the Bina, a tributary of the Betwa, 45 miles west-north-west from Sagar, was the capital of Jijhoti in the seventh century.[3]

The Candellas who were, in the ninth century, the feudatories, of the powerful Gurjjara-Pratīhāras, asserted their independence in the following century when they gradually built up this city of temples. Among the foreign writers, Albirūnī (1031 A.D.) mentions Kajūrāha, for the first time, as the capital of Jajāhūti, and places it at 30 *farsakh* to the south-east of Kanauj.[4] Ibn Batūtā later visited the city in 1335 A.D. and calls it Kajurā or Kajarra. He also describes it as possessing a lake about a mile in length and having found the temples in which there are idols. "At this place resides a tribe of *Jogis* with long and clotted hair. Many of the Moslems of these parts attend on them, and learn (magic) from them."[5]

Khajuraho with its group of magnificent temples was, according to Smith, the religious city of the Candellas.[6] These temples give evidence to the grandeur of Candella dynasty and its patronage of art and architecture. According to some scholars, they are the specimens of some of the 'finest groups of Hindu temples in Northern India.'[7] Others hold the opinion that the *Śikharas* of the Kandariya Mahādeva and the Lakṣmaṇa temples, though they soar up like a Himalayan peak, are not impressive from the point of view of their size.[8]

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 251.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 131. Some scholars like H.D. Sankalia and others are of opinion that the modern equivalent of the Chinese name is Chitore. *J.I.H.*, *loc. cit.*
4. Sachau, *Albiruni's India*, vol. I, p. 202.
5. *Ibn Batūtā* (tr. Gibb), pp. 226, 363.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
8. *J.I.H.*, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Again, according to Sankalia, the Khajuraho temples unlike some of the reputed temples of India like Modhera and Somnath in Gujarat or Halebid and Belur in Mysore, were purely meant for the king and his small group of courtiers. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 37.

Kośalā

The capital of South Kośala has also been called Kośalā.[1] We get a few references to some kings of Kośalā in certain Purāṇic passages.[2] According to one tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna lived for sometime at a monastery located near the capital of South Kośala, whose ruler appears to have belonged to Sātavāhana dynasty.[3] In the middle of the fourth century Samudragupta is said to have defeated a number of South Indian rulers, one of which was king Mahendra of Kośala.[4] About the 3rd quarter of the fifth century, the Vākāṭaka ruler Narendrasena claims to have his command honoured by a number of rulers including those of Kośalā.[5] It is possible that the Śarabhapurīyas of South Kośala became subordinate allies of the Vākāṭakas.[6]

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rulers became the lords of South Kośala during the latter half of the sixth century A.D., after ousting the last ruler of the Śarabhapurīya family.[7] The capital of the Śarabhapurīyas was Śarabhapura whose identity has not yet been satisfactorily determined, though the Vākāṭaka record posssibly points out Kośalā as their capital. The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs established their capital at Śrīpura (Sripur). The later rulers of South Kośala established their capital at places like Tummāṇa, Ratnapura, Puṣkari, and Suvarṇapura (Sonepur in Orissa), but none mentions Kośalā as their capital.

Māhiṣmatī

Avanti is mentioned in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* as one of the 16 *mahājanapadas* that flourished in the sixth century B.C. In the early days the small kingdom of Avanti under the Vītihotras

1. *C. A.*, p. 218.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 439-40.
4. Cf. Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, line 19, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 264.
5. Cf. Balaghat inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 271.
6. *C.A.*, p. 223.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 220; cf. The Baloda and Rajim copper plates of Mahāśiva-Tīvarārāja, *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 96-97; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 106ff.; *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff.

of the Haihaya clan appears to have expanded in various directions.[1] Towards the south it extended beyond the Vindhyas and occupied the Haihaya settlement in the Narmadā valley in the district round the ancient city of Māhiṣmatī, which is identified by some with modern Mandhata in the Nimar District (West,) M.P.[2] and by others with Maheswar in the old Indore State, now merged in the Madhya Pradesh.[3] In early Buddhist literature the southern part of Avanti seems to have been referred to as Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha.[4]

The *Mahābhārata*, however, distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhiṣmatī, but places Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā.[5] The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* mentions Māhiṣmatī as the capital of the Avantīs and refers to their king, Vessabhu.[6] This, according to some, is due to the fact that the capital of Avanti was, for a time, transferred from Ujjayinī to Māhiṣmatī, and as a result, perhaps, Avanti was mentioned along with the Dakṣiṇāpath countries in some Buddhist texts.[7]

The *Dīpavaṁsa*[8] mentions one 'Mahisa' country i.e. 'Mahisaraṭṭha' (Mahiṣarāṣṭra). The Mahāvaṁsa[9] calls this territory Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Mahiṣamaṇḍala). Buddhaghoṣa[10] also mentions the same region as *raṭṭham Mahiṣaṁ*, but uses in his own prose the forms 'Mahiṣakamaṇḍala' and 'Mahiṣmaka'. According to Fleet, the city of Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Mahiṣamaṇḍala, 'the territory of the Mahiṣas'.[11] The term 'Mahiṣa' does not denote 'buffaloes', but a people whose name

1. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 24.
2. Cf. Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 867.
3. See H.D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and S.B. Deo, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navadatoli*, Poona and Baroda,. 1958.
4. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
5. II, 31, 10.
6. *A.M.V.T.*, *loc.*, *cit.*
7. *D.P.P.N.*, Vol. I, p. 193; also *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 31n., 154, 159.
8. *Dipa.*, VIII, 1, 2.
9. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 3, 29.
10. *Vinayapiṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), III, pp. 314 ff.
11. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 441; from *Mahisa* we get *Māhiṣmat*, 'possessing buffaloes'. The name *Māhiṣmatī* is explained by the St. Petersburg Dictionary as being the feminine of *Mahiṣmata* from *Mahiṣmat*.

is found in the various forms of Mahiṣa,[1] Mahiṣaka,[2] Māhiṣaka,[3] and Māhiṣika.[4] The passage in the *Bhīṣmaparvan* classes the Māhiṣakas as *janapada dakṣiṇāh*; and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[5] calls them *dakṣiṇāpatha-vāsinaḥ*. So Fleet[6] concludes that these people dwelt in the south of either the Vindhya range or the river Narmadā, but never in the further south as suggested by some.

The name of the city of Māhiṣmatī has been referred to in the *Pārāyaṇa* of the Pali *Suttanipāta*[7] as an intermediate step which the disciples of Bāvari, who started from Pratiṣṭhāna, reached on their way to Ujjayinī. This city is mentioned by Patañjali (C. second century A.D.) in his comments on Vārttikas 10 and 15 under Pāṇini, where he introduces it in illustrating the use of the causal to indicate something remarkable—"setting out from Ujjayinī, he sees the sun rise at Māhiṣmatī.[8] The city is mentioned as Māhiṣmatī in the Sāñcī inscriptions,[9] in which the pilgrims to the *stūpa* are described as coming from Māhisatī, Mahisatī. Even in the thirteenth century, the city was flourishing as indicated in the Mandhata plates of the Paramāra king, Devapāla, that in 1225 A.D. (i.e. at the time of the grant) he was staying at Māhiṣmatī.[10]

A few more references to this city in the *Mahābhārata* are worth noticing. From the *Sabhāparvan*[11] it appears that Sahadeva conquered Māhiṣmatī by defeating its king Nīla. In the *Anuśāsanaparvan*[12] Daśāśva, one of the hundred sons of *Ikṣvāku* of the

1. *Bṛhat.*, 9, 10; *Harivaṁśa*, 782.
2. *Bṛhat.*, 17, 26.
3. *Mbh.*, VI (*Bhīṣmaparvan*), 9; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Book IV, Ch. 24 (Bombay ed.).
4. *Matsya Purāṇa* (Calcutta ed.)., Ch.113, v. 47.
5. *Mārk.*, ch. 57, v. 46.
6. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 440-41.
7. 'Gonarda' in *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 209.
8. Cf. *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyāṁ Sūryam udgamayati*; On Pāṇini, III, 1, 26. According to Fleet, Patañjali indicates that the distance between the two places was appreciable, but could as a special feat, be covered between sunset and sunrise; *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*
9. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 109.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 108.
11. *Mbh.*, II, 31.
12. *Ibid.*, XIII, 2, 6.

solar race, is mentioned as a king of Māhiṣmatī. The same *parvan*[1] tells that the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya, reigned over the whole earth from Māhiṣmatī.[2] The city is also mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*. It is stated that the city was established by king Mahiṣmat, the heir of Sāhañja who came from Yadu through Haihaya.[3] Elsewhere, it is said that the founder of the city was king Mucukunda, a son of Yadu.[4] In other places, Mucukunda is mentioned as a son of Māndhātṛ.[5] The *Harivaṁśa* also states that Mucukunda built another town, named Purikā,[6] near Māhiṣmatī in the centre of the Ṛkṣa mountains.

The view according to which Māhiṣmatī is identified with Mandla, the headquarters of the Mandla District of M.P.,[7] is no longer considered seriously. On the other hand scholars like Rice, strongly support its identification with a place in Mysore.[8] The position of the river Kāverī, which happens to be the name of the reputed South Indian stream, and which was crossed by Sahadeva in course of his victorious campaigns to reach Māhiṣmatī, is the main point of argument of those who advocate its location in Mysore. But of the two Kāverīs mentioned in the Purāṇas,[9] the northern one is a well-known tributary of the Narmadā. Thus, Fleet says, 'the Indian Atlas shows a "Cavery R." flowing into the Narbadā (Narmadā)

1. *Ibid.*, 152, 3.
2. In accordance with this some provinces in South India of the 11th and 12th centuries, who claimed to be of Haihaya extraction used the title "lord of Māhiṣmatī, the best of towns," to indicate their place of origin, see Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (vide *Bombay Gazetter*, vol. I, pp. 2, 439n., 450-457, 523); *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 86. In an inscription of Haihaya king is mentioned as the Lord of the city of Māhiṣmatī: *Māhiṣmatī-puravareśvara*, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 263 ff.
3. *Harivaṁśa*, 1846-47; cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (trans.) IV, pp. 53 ff.
4. *Harivaṁśa*, 711-14, 6464.
5. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, p. 268.
6. *A.I.H.T.*, p. 262; *Mārk. Purāṇa*, ch. 57. A place of this name occurs in a votive label at Barhut (*Barhut Inscriptions* by Barua & Sinha, p. 14).
7. See Sleeman in *J.A.S.B.*, 1837, p. 622.
8. Rice, *Mysore*, 1897, I, 280; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XVIII, pp. 162, 169, 253, 261.
9. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 22, 46 and 64; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II, 37, 16 and 22.

from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhiṣmatī',[1] or Māndhātā (Pargiter).[2]

It may be mentioned here that Mirashi, on the basis of the provenance of the coins bearing the legend (read by him as) *Mahasa* (—*Mahiṣa*), tried to locate Māhiṣaka or Mahiṣa-maṇḍala in the Southern portion of the Hyderabad State.[3] Sircar, however, rejects this theory after having proved the incorrectness of Mirashi's reading of the coin-legend,[4] and draws our attention to the Hebbata grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇu Varman I (end of the fifth century A.D.)[5] which shows that the present Tumkur area of Mysore State was known in the fifth century A.D. as the *Mahiṣa* territory. It is thus not unlikely that the name of Mysore was derived from the words *Mahiṣa* and *ūr* signifying 'the City of the *Mahiṣas*'.[6] Since the name *Mahiṣa* applied to a people and their land originally derived from the totem of these people, Sircar[7] thinks that there were more than one settlement of the *Mahiṣa* people in the various parts of the country. Māhiṣmatī on the Narmada according to him also owes its name to the *Mahiṣas*.

The Māhiṣmatī region was also known as Anūpa. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* it is clearly stated that Māhiṣmatī, on the Revā, was the capital of the Anūpa country.[8] The description of the city of Māhiṣmatī in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, as Pargiter[9] points

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 442, note 7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 867.
3. For V. V. Mirashi's articles see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff.; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Cuttack Session, 1949, pp. 45 ff., *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 216 ff.; *J.N.S.I.*, vol. XII, 1950, pp. 87-91; *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 115 ff; and *Ibid.*, Vol, XVIII, pp. 116-21.
4. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins.*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 126 ff.
5. *S.G.A.M.I.* (2nd ed.), pp. 245-46. For the Hebbata grant see the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1925.
6. D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 216, note and 293.
7. *S. G.A.M.I.* (2nd ed.), p. 247. Another Mahiṣa country has been located by Sircar in the Chanda District which was formerly in C. P. & Berar, now in Maharashtra. *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. VI, 1972-3, pp. 160 ff.
8. *Raghu.*, VI, 37-43.
9. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 444.

out, leaves no doubt that it was not on the Narmadā, but in the middle of it. The passage of the *Harivaṁśa*[1] describing the foundation of the city by Mucukunda also points to its location in the rocky island and village of Māndhātā, now sacred to Śiva and containing a famous shrine of Oṁkāranātha. This identification, it appears, not only satisfies the condition of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Harivaṁśa*, but testifies the statement in the *Suttanipāta* and the account of Patañjali that the distance between Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī is such that it could be covered in a night. Fleet also accepts this identification.[2] Again, its (Māhiṣmatī's) present name (Māndhātā) is well accounted for by the reference to Māndhātṛ as the father of Mucukunda in one of the versions of the parentage of the latter.[3]

Lastly, it may be noticed that the *Narmadā-māhātmya* does not mention the city of Māhiṣmatī, although it extols the Kāverī-Saṅgama which is very near to Māhiṣmatī, and refers to Maheśvarasthāna. It is likely that at the time of the composition of the *māhātmya*, the location of Māhiṣmatī had been forgotten locally. Again, the epithet *sthāna* of Maheśvara could hardly be applied to an ancient city. Thus Pargiter is of opinion that 'the Brāhmaṇas of Maheśvara, finding afterwards that the ancient glory of Māhiṣmatī was not located at or utilised by any place on the Narmadā, claimed it for their town on the strength of a similarity in the two names.'[4]

Mattamayūra

From the Ranod inscription[5] it appears that Mattamayūra was the capital of king Avantivarman. Avantivarman, it is said, went to Upendrapura to bring the sage Purandara to his

1. *Harivaṁśa*, 5218-27.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.* H. C. Raychaudhuri, however, puts forward one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra ranges (West Vindhya), whereas Māhiṣmatī lay between the Vindhya and Ṛkṣa—to the north of the Vindhyas and to the south of the Ṛkṣa, according to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha, see *P.H.A.I.*, p. 145 fn.
3. Cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (trans.), III, p. 268.
4. Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p.867.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

capital city. The sage founded a *maṭha* at Mattamayūra and another at Araṇipadra.

According to Mirashi and others the city of Mattamayūra may be identified with Kadwaha, 'which vies with Khajuraho in number and grandeur of its temples.'[1] Kadwaha, which is situated in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh, is near to Ranod, Terahi and Mahua. All these places formerly were ruled over by the Caulukya princes known to us from the inscriptions of the Śaiva Ācāryas of the Mattamayūra clan.[2]

Kielhorn[3] identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwaha. But Mirashi[4] perhaps rightly identifies it with Kadambapadraka in the Upendrapura-maṇḍala, mentioned in a land-grant of Paramāra Naravarmadeva.[5]

Mekalā

The Purāṇas refer to the kings of Mekalā which was possibly the capital city of the Mekala country.[6] The name Mekala is still in that of the Maikal range which is known as the connecting link between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, extending from the Khairagarh region to the Rewa Division.[7] The Mekalas lived in a region close to the Amarkaṇṭaka hills.

A Copper-plate inscription[8] found at Bamhani in the Sohagpur *Tahsil* of the Shahdol District, points to the rule of a branch of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa in Mekala about the fifth century A.D. One of the rulers Bharatabala, mentioned in this record, married a princess of Kośalā named Lokaprakāśā. It is likely that Lokaprakāśā belonged to the family of the Śarabhapurīyas.[9] It appears that the earlier rulers of the Mekala dynasty were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, while the later ones became practically independent with the decline of the Gupta power.[10]

1. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 117 ff.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid.*, vol. I, *loc. cit.*
4. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, p. 208.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, pp. 105ff.
6. *C.A.*, p. 222.
7. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 33, 34 note.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVII, p. 132; *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, vol. I, p. 215.
9. *C.A.*, *loc. cit.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 223. According to Sircar the suggestion that the Bamhani inscription indirectly alludes to Narendrasena Vākāṭaka as the suzerain of Bharatabala is hardly tenable.

The evidence of the Balaghat plates[1] seems to suggest that, towards the latter half of the fifth century, Narendrasena Vākāṭaka's commands were treated with respect by the lords of Kośalā, Mekalā and Mālava. Nothing definite is known about the rulers of Kośala, Mekala and Mālava who, for a time, probably became subordinate allies of Narendrasena. The king of South Kośala, however, appears to have been a king of Śarabhapura, and the ruler of Mekala, one of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.[2] The name of the Mekala country, once again occurs in Rājaśekhara's description of the conquests of the Gurjjara Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla who ascended the throne in c. 912 A.D.[3]

Nalapura

Nalapura is said to have been the capital of Nala, the ruler of the Niṣadha country which is mentioned in the *Vana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.[4] The Niṣadhas, who were associated with the Pāriyātra, according to Sircar,[5] probably lived about Nalapura, which is generally identified with the modern Narwar,[6] on the river Sindhu (Sindh), in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior state.

Smith[7] refers to a Gorakhpur tradition[8] according to which the Gaharwars are descendants of the famous *Rājā* Nala, and they came to Kāśī from Nalapura (Narwar). The name Nalapura occurs in a number of inscriptions of the early mediaeval period. Vīrasiṁha of the Kacchapaghāta family of Narwar issued a record from the Nalapuradurga (fort) in 1120 A.D.[9]

1. Cf. *Kosalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ādhipatyabhyarcitaśāsana*, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 271.
2. *C. A.*, *loc. cit.*
3. Tripathi, *The History of Kanauj*, p. 263; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 35.
4. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 53; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 140.
5. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 35, note 2.
6. Cunningham is of opinion that Nalapura (modern Narwar) may be the other name of Padmāvatī, *A.S.R.*, II, *loc. cit.* This view is no longer accepted.
7. *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, p. 3.
8. Cf. Beams, Elliot I (Martin's Eastern India II) p. 124.
9. Narwar C. P. of Vīrasiṁha, v.s. 1177; *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. VI, p. 542.

From the Dahi grant of V. S. 1337[1] it is known that the kingdom of Candella Vīravarman was bounded by Nalapura (Narwar) and Gopagiri (Gwalior) in the north-west. According to this record, Balabhadra Mallaya, a Candella general, possibly defeated the lord of Nalapura (*Nalapurapati*) whose name was Gopāla. Sircar[2] who regards *Nalapurapati* as an epithet of Gopāla, identifies him with Gopāla of Yajvapāla family, a few records of whose family have been found near Narwar.[3] It appears that, as Sircar suggests, the army of Vīravarman invaded the kingdom of Yajvapāla Gopāla and succeeded in pushing as far as the immediate neighbourhood of the latter's capital at Nalapura (Narwar).[4] But it is probable, as it seems from the evidence of the records from Baṅglā,[5] near the Narwar fort, that the Candella king was repulsed after having gained some initial successes.

Puṣkarī

The early Nala kingdom had its capital once at the city of Puṣkarī, which appears to have been situated in the district of Bastar.[6] Epigraphic evidence seems to point out that the Nalas subjugated the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kośala not long after the reign of Bālārjuna, who possibly flourished in the early part of the seventh century.[7]

The Podagadh (Koraput District, Orissa) inscription[8] of the Nala king Skandavarman suggests that he "recovered the lost (*bhraṣṭa*) royal fortune of his family and re-peopled the deserted (*Śūnyā*) city of Puṣkarī". As regards the possible adversary of Skandavarman there has been some speculation, and accordingly the names of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthvīsena II, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nanna of South Kośala and the Cālukya

1. *A.S.R* XXI, pp. 74-76.
2. *I.H.Q.*, XXXII, p. 405.
3. See *Annual administration report of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State*, v.s. 1991 (1934-35).
4. *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.* p. 403.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 401-05; also see *Ep. Ind.*, (ed. Sircar) vol. XXXI.
6. Sircar in *Indian Studies, Past & Present*, vol. VII, No. 3, p. 304.
7. *C.A.*, p. 222.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 155 note.

ruler Kīrttivarman (566-97 A.D.) have been suggested.[1] Kīrttivarman is said to have defeated the Nalas and destroyed their royal residence (*nilaya*).[2]

A grant[3] made by *Mahārāja* Arthapati was issued from Puṣkarī. Arthapati appears to have come after Skandavarman, possibly the son and successor of the latter. A hoard of gold coins of the Nala rulers has also been found at Edenga, a village in the Bastar District.[4] It appears, thus, that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region, and possibly, it had extended over a wider area.[5]

Ratnapura

According to the Ratnapura stone inscription of Jājalladeva I of Kalacuri year 866 (1114 A.D.),[6] Ratnarāja, third in descent from the first king Kaliñgarāja who established himself in Tummāṇa, founded the city of Ratnapura, modern Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Bilaspur. Ratnarāja was succeeded by his son Pṛthvīdeva who is known to have been ruling in 1079 A.D. It was probably during his reign that Ratnapur was made the second capital of his family.[7] Accordingly, in some later inscriptions, kings of this family are referred to as rulers of Ratnapur. Someśvaradeva of the Kuruspal stone inscription[8] was a rival of Jājalladeva I, who was ruling in Ratnapura (Ratanpur) and Thummāṇa in 1114 A.D. The Kuruspal stone inscription refers to *Ratnapura* (i.e. the king of Ratnapura (Ratanpur) among the other rivals of Someśvara. Another inscription praises the city of Ratnapura and compares it with Indra's city.[9]

Ratnapura is said to have been known in ancient times as Maṇipura and Māṇikapura, and to have been the scene of

1. *C. A.*, p. 189.
2. Cf. The Mahakutapillar inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, p. 7.
3. *J.B.R.S.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 33.
4. *J.N.S.I.*, vol. I, pp. 29 ff.
5. *C.A.*, p. 190.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 32 ff.
7. *S.E.*, p. 65.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, pp. 25 ff., *I.C.P.B.*, p. 162.
9. Cf. Ratnapur Mahāmāyā Temple Inscription, *I.C.P.B.*, p. 126. Cousens' *Progress Report*, 1904, p. 52.

some of the stories related in the *Mahābhārata*.[1] But Cunningham thinks that the tradition is 'utterly devoid of foundation,' and there is not the least evidence to suggest that Ratnapura ever existed as a city before king Ratnarājadeva.[2] Dey,[3] on the other hand, attempts to show, on the strength of an evidence from the *Jaimini-Bhārata*,[4] that Ratnapura was the capital of Mayūradhvaja and his son Tāmradhvaja who fought with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa while advancing along with the sacrificial horse of king Yudhiṣṭhira.

Śarabhapura

The city of Śarabhapura seems to have been established by a king named Śarabha, the founder of the Śarabhapurīya family. The inscriptions[5] of *Mahārāja* Narendra of Śarabhapura show that a king named Śarabha was his father. Śarabhapura became the capital of the Śarabhapurīya kings. Its identification is, however, a source of keen controversy among scholars.

R. L. Mitra conjectures that Śarabhapura is the old name of Sambalpur town, the headquarters of the district of the same name, now in Orissa.[6] Sten Konow[7] suggests that Śarabhapura may be the same as the present Śarabhavaram, 20 miles north-west from Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh. But Konow's view does not seem to be plausible in view of the fact that not a single inscription of the family has been found in that region. L. P. Pandeya[8] gives a number of probable names, viz., Sarpagarh or Sarbpur in the former Gangpur State in Orissa, Sarhar, and Sarabha or Sarwa, a village near the Sheorinarayan town in the Bilaspur District. In the opinion of

1. *A.S.R.*, VII, p. 216.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 168, s.v. Ratnapur.
4. *Jaimini*, Ch. 41.
5. Cf. The Pipardula grant and the Kurud plates (yr. 24) of *mahārāja* Narendra, ed. by Sircar in *I.H.Q.*, vol. XIX, p. 144 and Dikshit in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 264 respectively; also see A Note on the Kurud plates by Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 266.
6. *J.I.H.*, 1966 (August), p. 470.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 108.
8. *I.H.Q.*, Vo.l XV, pp. 475-76.

Hiralal,[1] the Śarabhapurīya kings flourished after the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Śrīpura, and he thinks that Śarabhapura was the new name of the conquered city of Śrīpura (i.e. Sirpur), capital of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī.

According to Sircar, "since the charters issued from Śarabhapura have been discovered in the region of Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, the royal city was probably in the same district in the vicinity or suburbs of Sirpur."[2] M. G. Dikshit upholding the view of Sircar, adds that a gold coin of king Prasannamātra was found in the lowest stratum super-imposed by constructions attributed to the Pāṇḍava rulers.[3] This, in his view, shows the early association of the Śarabhapurīyas with Śrīpura (Sripur), situated at a distance of 3 miles from Kurud on the bank of the Mahānadī.[4]

It may be pointed out that at first the Śarabhapurīyas might have been ruling in the Eastern Kośala region when the kings of the Śūra family was ruling over a region around Arang;[5] and afterwards, with the decline of the Śūra dynasty, they gradually conquered the territory in the west.[6] Again, the earliest inscription of the family (i.e. the Pipardula plates of Narendra) records the grant of the village of Śarkara-padraka in the Nandapura-bhoga, both lying in the former Śarangarh State,[7] far away from Śrīpura towards the east. The location of this village strengthens the supposition that the earliest home

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 186, note 5. But it appears that Mahā-Sudevarāja issued inscriptions both from, Śarabhapura and Śrīpura, while Mahā-Pravararāja II from Śripura only; Cf. *C.A.*, pp. 219-20; and the Thakurdiya plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 15-23) and Mallar Copper plates (*Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 51 ff) of Śrī-Mahā-Pravararāja. It has thus been suggested that the later rulers made Śrīpura their second capital; *C.A.*, *loc. cit.*
2. *C. A.*, p. 219; also *I.H.Q.*, vol. XIX, p. 144.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, p. 264.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. Cf. The Arang plates of Bhīmasena II (date G.E. 182=501 A.D). *Ibid.*, vol. IX, pp. 342 ff; also vol. XXVI, p. 228.
6. This point has been discussed by S. R. Nema in *J.I.H.*, 1966 (August), pp. 455 ff.
7. The identification of the place names has been made by Sircar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 144-45.

of the Śarabhapurīyas was mainly confined to the eastern part of Kośala. In this connection the name of Sarabhagarh (or Sarapur), the headquarters of the former Gangpur State in Orissa, as suggested by L. P. Pandeya[1] and considered plausible by Mirashi,[2] may be put forward as the possible location of Śarabhapura, for the area may well be within the eastern border of Kośala.[3]

Śrīpura

The rulers of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa (also called Somavaṁśa) ruled in Dakṣiṇa Kośala with Śrīpura as the capital. These rulers styled themselves *Kośalādhipati*, i.e., the lord of Kośala (South) in their inscriptions, and Śrīpura, which is identified with modern Sirpur, 37 miles north-east of Raipur town, in the Raipur District, continued to be the capital of this dynasty at least from the time of Tīvaradeva to that of Śivagupta (Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuna, who seems to have flourished at the close of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century A.D.[4] The Rajim[5] and Baloda[6] plates of Mahāśiva Tīvararāja refer to Śrīpura, situated on the bank of the Mahānadī, in the Raipur District, from which his plates were issued.

Śrīpura contained a large number of temples, all of which are now in ruins, the only exceptions being the Lakṣmaṇa and Gandheśvara temples.[7] In one of the inscriptions found on the Gandheśvara temple, we find the name 'Gandharveśvara'.[8] It is stated that flowers for the worship of Śiva (*Gandharveśvara*)

1. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 595; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, p. 19.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, p. 17; vol. XXVI, p. 229, note 2.
3. S. R. Nema also supports this conclusion; see *J.I.H.*, *op. cit.*, p. 473.
4. *A.I.K.*, p. 146. Earlier, Śrīpura, it appears, also became the capital of the later Śarabhapurīya rulers. See *C.A.*, p. 219. In fact, a few inscriptions of these rulers were issued from Śrīpura; Cf. The Kauvatal copper plates of grant of Sudevarāja, year 7, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 314-15; The Thakurdiya plates, *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, pp. 15-23, and Mallar copper plates of Pravararāja II, *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 51 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 106 ff.
6. *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 291 ff.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 98.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 87; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 179 ff.

were to be supplied by the *mālīs* (gardeners) of Navahaṭṭa (possibly a quarter of Śrīpura) and garlands of flowers for the same purpose were to be provided from certain funds raised from the contributions of the gardeners living in the town of Śrīpura.[1]

A number of inscriptions which have been discovered around Śrīpura (Sripur), are said to have been issued from Śarabhapura. The location of the city of Śarabhapura has not yet been determined and the city is variously identified with Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh, etc.[2]

Formerly, Hiralal held that the name Śarabhapura was imposed on Śrīpura when the earlier dynasty was ousted from there by the dynasty to which Jayarāja (Mahājayarāja) of the Arang plates belonged,[3] and that the name Śarabhapura could not survive as the dynasty reigned only for a short period.[4] But subsequently he has changed this view.[5]

It is not certain if Śrīpura continued to be the capital of the later Somavaṁśis whose kingdom was founded by Śivagupta. But it seems probably that they were gradually ousted from the western part of the *Janapada* by the Kalacuris of Tripurī who occupied the Chhattisgarh region in the eleventh century A.D.[6]

Cunningham observes that the ancient name of Śrīpura was Śavarīpura, from the female mendicant Śavarī, mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[7]

According to another legend noticed by Cunningham, the city got its name Śrīpura (literally, 'the city of wealth') after 'the golden rain' as a result of which the people of the city became rich and happy. But the city, according to the same legend, was ultimately, subject to foreign invasion, owing to the greediness of its ruler. Since then Śrīpura has been desolate and its

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. S. B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
3. *D.L.I.C.P.B.*, No. 121, p. 96. For Arang plates of Jayarāja, also see C.I.I., III, pp. 191 ff.
4. *D.L.I.C.P.B.* No. 239 p. 169; also Ep. Ind Vol.., XI, p. 186.
5. *I.C.P.B.*, Nos. 175, 310. pp. 105, 181.
6. *A.I.K.*, p. 146.
7. *A.S.R.*, VII, p. 168.

wealth has been transferred to Rāyapura (Raipur), while the scrub of Rāyapura has come here instead.[1]

Śuktimatī

From the *Mahābhārata*, it is known that Śuktimatī or Śukti-Sahvaya[2] was the capital of *Rājā* Upariсara of the Cedi-viṣaya.[3] The river Śuktimatī, which, according to the Purāṇic evidence, emerges out of the Ṛkṣa range,[4] flow by the side of the ancient city of the same name.[5] The city was known as Sotthivatī in Pali literature,[6] which was the capital of the Cedi *mahājanapada*.[7] The river Śuktimatī has been identified with the Ken, a tributary of Jamuna, flowing through Bundelkhand. The city has been placed in the neighbourhood of Banda (Uttar-Pradesh).[8]

Tripurī

According to a tradition recorded in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Mahādeva (Mahākāla of Avantipura), the presiding deity of Avanti, obtained a resounding victory over the powerful demon king Tripura of Tripurī (also called Tripura), and in order to perpetuate the memory of this great victory, Avantipura was named Ujjayinī.[9] Mahādeva was also known subsequently as *Tripurāntaka*[10] (i.e. the destroyer of the demon Tripura). On the basis of the evidence of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*,[11] Dey suggests that the story of the destruction of Tripura is an allegorical description of the expulsion of the Buddhists by the Śaivas.[12]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93.
2. *Mbh.*, III, 20, 50; XIV, 83, 2; N. L. Dey in *Ind. Ant.*, 1919.
3. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 129.
4. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 48-49.
5. *Mbh.*, I,63,35.
6. *Cetiya Jātaka*, 422, in the *Jātaka*, Cam. ed., III, p. 271.
7. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, *Pali Text Society*, I, 213; IV, 242, 256, 260.
8. Pargiter in *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 255; *Mārk. P.*, p. 359.
9. *Āvantya-khaṇḍa*, *loc. cit.*, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 14, 33.
10. Cf. Nirmand C. P. inscription of mahāsāmanta and mahārāja Samudrasena, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 288, 1.4.
11. *Liṅga* p., pt. I, ch. 71.
12. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 206.

The city of Tripurī finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*, along with Kośala,[1] and the Tripuras and the people of Kośala are referred to together with the Mekalas and Kurubindas.[2] In the *Haimakoṣa* the city is called Cedinagarī.[3] The list of peoples found in the Purāṇas mention the Traipuras along with the Tosalas, Kośalas and Vaidiśas.[4] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[5] Tripura was the capital of *Bāṇarāja*, whose daughter Uṣā was abducted by Aniruddha, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa; hence Tripura was the same as Śoṇitapura. A few coins bearing the name of Tipurī in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C. have been discovered. There are types with the legend *Tipurī* written perpendicularly from the bottom. According to Allan, the coins are to be attributed to the ancient Tripurī.[6]

Thus, the city of Tripurī, which is at present identified with modern Tewar, a vilage 6 miles west of Jabalpur, near the Narmadā, is one of the important cities of the Cedi country from a very early time.[7] Recent excavations at Tripurī have yielded interesting evidence of the Sātavāhana dominance over the region. A large number of coins of the Sātavāhanas from Śrī-Sāti or Śrī-Sātakarṇi to Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi have been found at Tripurī and its adjoining areas.[8] The Sātavāhanas were succeeded by the Bodhis who probably ruled over this region in the late second-third century A.D. This is known from the discovery of the Bodhi seals in the post-Sātavāhana level at Tripurī. The Bodhis seem to have adopted the coin-device and the custom of using metronymics of the Sātavāhanas who were their immediate predecessors.[9] During the Gupta

1. *Mbh.*, III, 253, 10.
2. *Mbh.*, VI, 87, 9.
3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 249.
4. Cf. *Tosalāḥ Kośalāścaiva Traipurā Vaidiśāstathā*, *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 34n.
5. *Matsya*, ch. 116.
6. Allan, *Cat. Ind. Coins in Br. Mus.*, London, 1936., pp. cxl-cxli.
7. The other city of importance in the Cedi country was Sahajāti; *Aṅguttara*, III, 355 (P.T.S.); *P.H.A.I.*, p. 129.
8. Cf. Presidential Address by K.D. Bajpai in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXX, 1968; also A. M. Shastri, *Tripurī*, Bhopal, 1971, pp. 24-28.
9. For the accounts of the excavations at Tripurī which has yielded archaeological materials about the Bodhis, see *Indian Archaeology*, 1967-68—*A Review*, pp. 23-24; *ibid.*, 1968-69, pp. 23-24; *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology* (University of Saugar), No. I (1967), pp. 125-27; *ibid.*,

period Tripurī and the surrounding areas came under the Gupta authority and formed an administrative division of the Gupta empire, known as Tripurī-viṣaya, which was ruled by a provincial governor,[1] sometimes by a feudatory chief like *mahārāja* Saṁkṣobha of the Parivrājaka family.[2]

In the mediaeval period the city of Tripurī became the capital of Ḍāhala-maṇḍala,[3] the kings of which region were also known as the Kalacuris of Cedi. The Kalacuris, also known as Kaṭaccuri, Kalatsuri, Kalacuryas, etc., are, according to some scholars,[4] foreigners who probably entered India in the train of the Hūṇas and Gurjjaras; and ulimately, through many vicissitudes of fortune, they settled in the Jabalpur region where, after a long period of comparative obscurity they emerged powerful about the end of the ninth century. The earliest known king of the Kalacuri dynasty is Kokkalla I under whom Tripurī obtained an imperial status in the community of powers of Northern India.[5] Yuvarāja II of this dynasty ruled in the last quarter of the tenth century, and reconstructed the city of Tripurī to enhance its beauty and grandeur.[6] Towards the

No. II (1968), pp. 142-43. See also K.D. Bajpai, *Madhyapradeśa kā Purātattva*, pp. 20-23; P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 51; A.M. Shastri's 'Fresh Light on the Bodhis' in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, 1972, pp. 211-22.

1. *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 560-61.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 394 ff.
3. According to the Malkapuram inscription (*J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. IV, pp. 156-57) Dāhala-maṇḍala lay between the Ganges and the Narmadā; *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 200n.
4. *C. A.*, pp. 190-91.
5. For the history of the Kalacuris under Kokkalla I see *A.I.K.*, pp. 87 ff.

Tripurī continued to remain the capital city for a long time. Not only the Kalacuri records, but the contemporary inscriptions bear testimony to this fact. Below we mention a few inscriptions which refer to Tripurī as the Kalacuri city of eminence.

(i) The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva (dated 1114 A.D.) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 32ff.
(ii) The fragmentary Tewar inscription of king Bhīmapāla, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, pp. 85ff.
(iii) The Bilhari stone inscription of the Cedi rulers, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 251 ff.

6. *A.I.K.*, p. 92.

end of the eleventh century the power and prestige of the imperial Kalacuri family dwindled to a great extent. From the Nagpur *praśasti*of Paramāra Naravarman (1097-1111 A.D.)[1] it appears that Paramāra Lakṣmadeva plundered the capital city of Tripurī, and encamped on the Revā for some time during the reign period of Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa.

Tummāṇa

The Purāṇic list of peoples includes expressions like *Tumurāstumburāścaiva* (*Tumbānāstumbavanāśca*?), which, according to Sircar stands for two localities, viz., Tumbavana and Tummāṇa.[2] Tummāṇa has been identified with the modern village of Tumana, 45 miles north of Ratanpur,[3] in the former Lapha *Zamindari*, Bilaspur District. From the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva of (1114 A.D.),[4] it is known that Kaliṅgarāja, a descendant of one of the younger sons of Kokkalla I, who founded the Kalacuri dynasty of Tripurī, conquered Dakṣiṇa-Kośala and established his capital at Tummāṇa. The name Tummāṇa also appears in a few other inscriptions[5] of the dynasty.

Ujjayinī

The name Ujjayinī, meaning 'the victorious', is the same as

1. Cf. The Nagpur *Praśasti* of Naravarman (1097-1111 A.D.), v. 39, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 186.
2. *S.G.A.M.I.* p. 35 and note I.
3. See *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 298 Kielhorn identified Tummāna with Juna Shahar or old Ratnapur, but this is no longer accepted.
4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.
5. cf. (i) Kharod Stone inscription of Ratnadeva (1182 A.D.) *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 82.
(ii) Mahamadapur Stone inscription of the Kalacuri kings of Ratnapura, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 85.
(iii) Malhar Stone inscription of Jājalladeva of 1167-68 A.D. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, pp. 39 ff.
(iv) Spurious Lapha plate of Pṛthvīdeva, S.V. 806, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX pp. 293 ff.

Ujjenī in Pali,[1] Ujeni of the Prākṛt inscriptions,[2] and Ozéné of the classical writers.[3] In one of the earliest coins found in Ujjayinī, the name of the city is written in Brāhmī characters of the first half of the second century B.C. Cunningham[4] reads it as *Ujeniya*, but Allan[5] takes it to be *Ujeni*. According to the *Āvantya-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*,[6] Avantipura, the capital of the Avantīs was called Ujjayinī in order to commemorate the great victory obtained by Mahādeva (Mahākāla), the presiding deity of Avanti, over the powerful demon Tripura of the city of Tripura, identified with Tripurī, modern Tewar on the Narmadā. The *Skanda Purāṇa* also informs us that the great city of Ujjayinī had six earlier names in six different *Kalpas*. They are, (1) Suvarṇasṛṅgāra, (2) Kuśasthalī, (3) Avantikā, (4) Amarāvatī, (5) Cūḍāmaṇi, and (6) Padmāvatī. In historical times, this extensive and prosperous city was known to Kālidāsa as Viśālā,[7] and to Somadeva as Padmāvatī, Bhogavatī and Hiraṇyavatī.[8] The *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (IV) gives another name for the city, viz., Puṣpakaraṇḍinī (i.e. having in it a garden called Puṣpakaraṇḍa).[9]

The recent excavations at Ujjain did not yield any chalcolithic material, while Ujjain is surrounded like an island by

1. *Therī-gāthā*, vol. V, p. 405. There was another city of the name Ujjayinī in Ceylon and it was 'founded by Vijaya's minister Accutagāmī', and it finds mentioned in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, IX, 36 and *Mahāvaṁsa*, VII, 46. See Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 345. B.C. Law through mistake has confused Ujjayinī of Avanti in India with the Ceylonese Ujjayinī and described the former city as having been built by Accutagāmi. (vide B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, 1954, pp. 52, 332; B.C. Law's chapter in the *Age of Imperial Unity*, 1951, p. 14). For a detailed discussion see *S.G.A.M.I.* (2nd ed.)., pp. 211-12.

2. Lüders' List, Nos. 172, 173, 210, 212, 218, 219-29, 231-37, 238 etc.

3. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (ed. Majumdar-Sastri), p. 154 ; *The Periplus of the Erythrean sea* (tr. Schoff), pp. 187-88.

4. *A.S.R.*, vol. XIV, p. 148.

5. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in British Museum*, London, 1936, p. cxlv.

6. Bangabasi edition, ch. 43.

7. *Megha*. I, 30.

8. *Kathāsaritsāgara* (tr. Tawney), vol. II, p. 275.

9. See *Indian Studies, Past & Future*. vol. VII, No. 3, p. 330.

chalcolithic sites.[1] This has led scholars to believe that the early iron-using people of Ujjain destroyed the chalcolithic settlements.[2] In fact, this period heralds the first empires which were contemporary with the Buddha.

The Buddhist works, sometimes mention Ujjenī,[3] and sometimes Māhissatī[4] (Māhiṣmatī or Māndhātā on the Narmadā) as the capital of Avanti. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that Ujjenī (Ujjayinī) was the capital of the northern division of Avanti and Māhiṣmatī of its southern division, which was also called Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha.[5] Māhiṣmatī occurs in the intinerary of the *Pārāyaṇa* incorporated in the Pali *Suttanipāta* as an intermediate point between Pratiṣṭhāna, and Ujjayinī.[6]

Ujjayinī, which has been identified with modern Ujjain to the north of Indore, lat. 23°11′10″ N., and long. 75°51′45″ E, was the capital of king Pradyota of Avanti, one of the 16 *Mahājanapadas* mentioned in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*[7] as flourishing at the time of the Buddha. The *Vinayapiṭaka*[8] says that there was friendly intercourse between the city Ujjayinī and Magadha, whose king was Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, although the *Majjhimanikāya*[9] avers that Pradyota made preparations to wage war on Ajātaśatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra. Later on, the

1. See H. D. Sankalia, *An Introduction to the Pre-and Proto-history of Malwa* Poona, 1958, p. 1. In 1954-56 N.R. Banerjee of Archaeological Survey of India excavated the city of Ujjain to explore its cultural sequence. Earlier, M.G. Garde with the assistance of S. K. Dixit excavated 18 different trenches to examine the antiquity of the city. The city had a mud rampart with a surrounding ditch of the pre-Mauryan times.

(Cf. V.S. Wakankar's '*Archaeology of Ujjain Region*' published in the brochure of the Vikram University, Ujjain, to celebrate the occasion of the 26th All India Oriental Conference held in Ujjain in 1972).

2. H. D. Saṅkalia, *loc. cit.*; also *Pre-history and Proto-history in India and Pakistan*, Bombay, 1962, p. 202.

3. *Jataka* (ed. Fausboll), IV, 390.

4. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. III, p. 270.

5. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on the Ancient History of India*, 1918, p. 45.

6. Sylvain Levi, *Gonarda, le berceau du Gonardīya* (tr. D. C. Sircar in *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 209). The *Mahābhāṣya* makes a similar statement, e.g. *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām Sūryamudgamayati*, on Pāṇini, III, 1, 26.

7. Pali Text Society, I, 213; iv, 252, 256, 260.

8. *Vinayapiṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), PTS I, 276.

9. *Majjhima*, III. 7.

kingdom of Avanti was annexed to the empire of the Magadhan rulers.[1] Henceforth Ujjayinī became the viceregal headquarters of the province of Avanti,[2] within the Magadhan empire.

On the evidence of the Buddhist texts, Malalasekera mentions Ujjenī (Ujjayinī) as the birth-place of Maha Kaccāna, Isidāsi, Abhaya and the courtesan Padumavatī, mother of Abhayā.[3]

Mahāvīra, the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, is said to have performed some penances in Avanti and its capital. The city (Ujjenī) is frequently visited by the Liṅgāyata itinerant ascetics.[4]

The Buddhist sources[5] point out that before his accession to the throne of Pāṭaliputra, Aśoka acted as viceroy at Ujjayinī for some years, and it was during this period that Mahinda and Sanghamittā were born. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*,[6] Mahinda spent six months in Dakkhinagiri-vihāra in Ujjayinī prior to his visit to Ceylon. Again, from the same *vihāra*, forty thousand monks were said to have been present, under the leadership of Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita, at the foundation of the *Mahāthūpa* in Anurādhapura.[7] The *Dantadhātuvaṁsa* (fourth century A.D.) refers to the history of the tooth-relic which was brought to Ceylon by prince Dantakumāra of Ujjayinī from Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga.[8]

It has been suggested[9] on the basis of the recent discovery of the coins of some scytho-Parthian rulers that Ujjain and the regions around were occupied by these rulers towards the end of the Maurya dynasty i.e. about the beginning of the second century B.C.; and this scytho-Parthian rule in this region possibly came to an end with the rise of the indigenous rulers

1. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 220.
2. R. K. Mookherjee, *Aśoka*, pp. 123-24; also cf. the separate rock edict of Asoka, No. I, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 40 ff.
3. *D.P.P.N.*, Vol. I., pp. 344-45.
4. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 227.
5. Malaḷasekera, *loc. cit.*
6. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XIII, 5.
7. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 35.
8. *S.E.*, p. 340.
9. Cf. the Presidential Address (History Section) by K. D. Bajpai at the 26th All India Oriental Conference at Ujjain (October, 1972).

like Savitṛ, Pramuda, Raṭhi Madana and others whose coins have also been discovered here.

Ujjayinī was the Greenwich of India, and the Hindu astronomers possibly reckoned their first meridian of longitude from this city.[1] Its unique location made it an important trade centre. From the *Jātaka*[2] it appears that there was an old trade-route from Ujjayinī to Vārāṇasī and the merchants of the two cities displayed healthy rivalry not only in trade, but also in matters of culture. It was while going on a caravan to Ujjaynī that Soṇa Kutikaṇṇa met the Peta, whose words made him to renounce worldly life.[3] About 80 A.D. which was the probable date of the composition of the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, Ujjayinī was no longer the capital city, but, as the *Periplus* observes, from Oziné (i.e. Ujjayinī) 'are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza (i.e. Broach), and many things for our trade.'[4]

According to a Nasik inscription,[5] Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi conquered from Nahapāna, among others, the territories of Ākara (East Malwa) and Avanti (West Malwa). The success of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi seems to have been shortlived. There is epigraphic evidence to show that the Kārdamaka-śakas under Caṣṭana and Rudradāman defeated Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and reconquered most of the northern regions of the Sātavāhana king's dominions, originally conquered from Nahapāna.[6] In Ptolemy's Geography (C. 145 A.D.) Oziné (i.e. the city of Ujjayinī), the capital of the Avanti country, is mentioned as the metropolis of king Tiastenes (i.e. Śaka Caṣṭana),[7] while the Śaka father-in-law of Ikṣvāku Vīrapuruṣadatta (3rd century A.D.) is mentioned in a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription as 'the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī'.[8]

1. Rapson, *Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 90.
2. *Jātaka*, II, pp. 248 ff.
3. Udāna Commentary, P.T.S., pp. 307 ff.
4. *The Periplus of the Erythrean sea* (tr. Schoff), Sections 48 and 49; see Sircar in *Indian Studies, Past & Present*, vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 356-57.
5. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 203 ff.
6. Cf. The Andhau stone inscription of the time of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman (year 52-130 A.D.), *Ibid.*, pp. 173 ff.
7. Ptolemy, VII, i, 63.
8. *Sel. Ins.* p. 231; *J.B.R.S.*, vol. XLIX, 1963, pp. 28 ff; cf. J. W. McCrindle's translation in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, pp. 108 ff.; also R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 288 ff.

The city remained under the Śakas for several centuries, and then it passed to the Guptas. It became a viceregal seat under the Imperial Guptas.[1] A few chiefs of the Kannada Districts claiming descent from Candragupta II Vikramāditya mentioned their great ancestor as *Ujjayinī puravarādhīśvara*, 'lord of Ujjayinī, the best of cities,' as well as *Pāṭalipuravarādhīśvara*, 'lord of Pāṭali (putra), the best of cities'.[2] The prosperity of the city of Ujjayin that was situated on the bank of the river Śiprā, a tributary of the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), has been narrated at length by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*.[3] The *Mṛcchakaṭika* depicts a clear picture of the social life at Ujjayinī under Gupta rule.[4] In the midst of the city stands the celebrated temple of Mahādeva called Mahākāla[5] in the Purāṇas.[6] The shrine is claimed by the Jainas as being built by Avanti-Sukumāra's son.[7] Its sanctity is referred to by Kālidāsa.[8] It is one of the Śākta-pīṭhas and the elbow of Satī is said to have fallen there. Kālikā, mentioned in the *Ṣaṭpañcāśāddeśavibhāga* of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* (verse 17) has been taken by Sircar to be the Śakti of the Mahākāla of Ujjayinī.[9] The worship of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī has been mentioned by Albirūnī in 1030 A.D.[10] Cunningham records an incident according to which the idol of Mahākāla was carried to Delhi by Iltutmish, (1210-36) and was broken to pieces there in front of the great mosque.[11] In the courtyard of the temple there is a small reservoir called Koṭi-tīrtha.[12] Besides the temple of

1. Rapson, *loc. cit.*
2. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 556.
3. *Megha.*, I, 30-34.
4. See "Ujjayinī in Mṛcchakaṭika" (by S. Mukherjee) in *B.C. Law Volume* (ed. Bhandarkar and others), Part I.
5. The views of commentator of Bhavabhūti's works identifying Kālapriyanātha with the god Mahākāleśvara of Ujjayinī are no longer accepted; see Sircar's Kālapriya and Brahmaśilā in *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 241ff. See also MM. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Nagpur, 1960, pp. 35-42.
6. Vide *Siva Purāṇa*, Part I, chs. 38, 46.
7. *Sthavirāvalī-carita* vol. XI, v. 177.
8. *Megh.*, I. 36.
9. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 90.
10. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, vol. I, p. 202; also Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 98.
11. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*
12. *Sthavirāvalī-carita*, ch. XXII.

Mahākāla, those of Siddhanātha and Mangaleśvara are celebrated.[1]

When the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) visited U-she-yen-na or Ujjayinī, it was 30 *li* or 5 miles in circuit.[2] The kingdom of Ujjayinī was 6000 *li* or 1000 miles in circuit and was under the rule of a Brāhmaṇa king. As noticed earlier, to the west of this kingdom lay the Mo-la-po (Mālava) country in the Mo-ho (Mahī valley in Gujarat, a fact also probably corroborated by the Aihole inscription (C. 634 A.D.) of Pulakeśin II.[3] Bāṇabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, describes the Eastern Malwa region as Mālava.[4] The territory around Ujjayinī became famous as Mālava about the tenth century A.D. when the Paramāras, who seem to have been Mālava by nationality, conquered Malwa.[5]

Hiuen Tsang noticed several dozens of monasteries in the city of Ujjayinī, most of which were in ruins, and also about 300 monks. The temples were numerous. The city was populous. In later times, the city enjoyed the patronage of the Pratīhāra rulers[6] and the Paramāras of Mālava. The Paramāra king, Vākpati II Muñja, is said to have made Ujjayinī his royal seat about 975 A.D. when he issued the Dharmapuri plates.[7]

In the middle of the eleventh century Someśvara I *Āhavamalla* plundered Maṇḍapa (Mandu), Ujjayinī and Dhārā, the capital of Paramāra Bhoja who fled away from the capital.[8] Afterwards, Lakṣmadeva is said to have repulsed an attack of Mahmūd, the governor of the Punjab, when the latter invaded Ujjayinī.[9] But during the reign of the next king, Naravarman,

1. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 210.
2. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 412-13.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, No. 1.
4. Cf. *Kādambarī* (ed. Siddhantavagisa), pp. 19, 183.
5. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 17.
6. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga (C. 733-58 A.D.) is said to have defeated the Gurjjara king and made him serve as a *Pratīhāra* (door- keeper) when he performed the *Hiraṇyagarbha-dāna* ceremony at Ujjayinī (see Sanjan C. P. of Amoghavarṣa, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 235). But later on Ujjayinī seems to have become an integral part of the Gurjjara Pratīhāra empire.
7. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.
8. *S.E.*, pp. 66, 171-72.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Ajayarāja, the Cāhamāna king of Śākambharī, invaded Ujjayinī and captured the commander of the Mālava army.[1] In 1233 A.D. Ujjayinī was once again *assailed* and plundered by Iltutmish,[2] and this accelerated the decline of the empire.

4. *Vidiśā*

According to the Purāṇas,[3] the Vaidiśas were the people of Vidiśā, which has been identified with modern Besnagar near the former Bhilsa (at present called Vidisha) in Madhya Pradesh. It is mentioned as the capital of the Daśārṇa *janapada* in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.[4] The Daśārṇa country is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] and *Mahābhārata*,[6] although the position of the city of Vidiśā is not specified in those texts. From the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[7] it appears that Rāmacandra gave Vaidiśa to Śatrughna's son, Śatrughātin. Vaidiśā in this verse possibly refers to the country of which Vidiśā was the capital. The *Meghadūta* refers to the famous river Vetravatī flowing by the side of the city. According to the Purāṇas,[8] the river known as Vidiśā (modern Bes or Besali) emerging out of the Pāriyātra range falls into the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) near Vidiśānagarī (the present Besnagar). The Vetravatī or Betwa is a tributary of the Yamunā. This city (Vidiśā) thus seems to have been situated in the fork between the two rivers, Vetravatī (Betwa) and Vidiśā (Bes).[9] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira also mentions the city of Vidiśā.[10]

It seems possible that in the sixth century B.C. Vidiśā was a city of the Avanti *mahājanapada*,[11] though it perhaps became the capital of Daśārṇa, mentioned for the first time in the stereotyped list of 16 great States appearing in the *Mahāvastu*.[12]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 82.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
3. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 34 n.
4. *Megh.*, I, 24-25.
5. *Rām.*, IV, 41.10.
6. S. Sorensen, *Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 225.
7. *Rām.*, VII, 121.
8. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 46 n.
9. *A.S.R.*, X, p. 36.
10. *Bṛhat.*, ch. XVI, v. 32.
11. Cf. *Aṅguttaranikāya*; P.T.S., I, 213, IV 252, 256, 260.
12. I, 34; *P.H.A.I.*, p. 95 n.

The *Pārāyaṇa* of the *Suttanipāta*[1] alludes to the city of Vedisā (Vidiśā) which was placed immediately after Ujjayinī and Gonarda on the route running from Pratiṣṭhāna to Śrāvastī. According to a tradition recorded in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Vidiśā was 50 *yojanas* from Pāṭaliputra, and was founded by the Śakyans who fled from Viḍuḍabha's massacre.[2] Buddhaghoṣa indicates that Aśoka stayed at Vessanagara for some time on his way from Pāṭaliputra to assume the government of Ujjayinī[3]. Aśoka is said to have married Devī here and by her he had twin sons, Ujjenia and Mahinda and afterwards a daughter Saṅghamittā. Vessanagara which is possibly derived from Vaiśyanagara, has been identified by Cunningham with modern Besnagar,[4] the site of ancient Vidiśānagarī. The *Mahāvaṁsa*[5], however, relating the same story, calls the place Cetiyagiri, which has been identified by some with Sāñcī 'with its numerous *cetiyas* or *stūpas*'.[6]

Vedisā (Vidiśā) was an important centre of Buddhism. Donors from this place contributed towards the setting up of the Buddhist relics. Campādevī, wife of Revatimitra, Vāsiṣṭhī, wife of Veṇimitra, Aryamā, Phagudeva and Bhūtarakṣita represent some of the pious women and men who contributed liberally in setting up the Buddhist endowments.[7] A Sāñcī record refers to the ivory carving done by the Vidiśā workers known as *dantakāras*.[8] Among the benefactors of the *Stūpa*

1. See 'Gonarda' in *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 206 ff.
2. See B. N. Puri, *Ancient Indian Cities*, p. 127.
3. Turnour, *Pali Annals in Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, VII, 930; see also *A.S.R.*, X, p. 37.
4. *A.S.R.*, *loc. cit.*, Cunningham refers to a popular legend regarding the origin of the name of the city. According to it the old city of Vessanagara or Besnagar, is generally believed by the people to have been founded by *Rājā* Rukmāṅgada. He is said to have neglected his wife for the beautiful Apsarā Viśvamohinī, for whom the Nolakha gardens were made, and after whom the city was named Viśva-nagara from which the name Vessanagara or Besnagar has come into being.
5. *Mahāvaṁsa* (Turnour's trans.) p. 76.
6. Massey, *Sanchi and its Remains.*, pp. 3, 5; *A.S.R.*, *loc.*, *cit.*
7. B. N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

at Śāñcī are represented the inhabitants of Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayinī and Vidiśā.[1]

Malwa, at least its eastern region, appears to have formed an integral part of the dominions of the Śuṅgas (C. 187-75 B.C.) and possibly, also of their successors, the Kāṇvas (C. 75-30 B.C.). According to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[2] of Kālidāsa, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga resided at Pāṭaliputra, while his son, Agnimitra, was ruling from Vidiśā as his father's viceroy. On the basis of a tradition recovered in the *Stūpāvadāna* in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* Sircar has pointed out recently that, owing to a second Yavana invasion of the capital of Magadha under Menander (Milinda) about the close of the second century B.C., the Śuṅga capital was transferred from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā.[3] This possibly resulted in an alliance between Śuṅga Bhāgabhadra and Yavana Antialcides, as indicated by the Besnagar pillar inscription of Helidoros.[4] The alliance was evidently aimed at Menander. King Bhāgabhadra received at Vidiśā the Vaiṣṇavite Greek Heliodoros of Takṣaśilā, an ambassador of the Greek *Mahārāja* Aṁtalikita (Antialcides). From another inscription it is known that the ninth Śuṅga king, Bhāgavata, raised a temple of Viṣṇu at Vidiśā.[5] It should also be noted that the Purāṇas also connect the end of the Śuṅga rule in a vague way with Vidiśā.[6] Thus it appears that the later Śuṅgas were ruling with Vidiśā as their metropolis, and that it was here that the Śuṅgas were overthrown by the Kāṇvas and the Kāṇvas by the Andhras or Sātavāhanas.[7]

The great Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is said to have extirpated the Kṣaharāta Śaka chief Nahapāna and conquered various regions including Ākara (the same as Daśārṇa with its capital at Vidiśā) and Avanti (with Ujjayinī as its capital). But shortly after this, the Sātavāhanas had to surrender most of their newly conquered territories to the rulers of

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 214.
2. Act V, (ed. Vidyanidhi), p. 370.
3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1963, p. 20.
4. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 88 ff.
5. *A.S.R.*, 1913-14, p. 190.
6. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 60.
7. *Loc. cit.*

another Śaka (i.e. Kārddamakaśaka) family as is known from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I (150 A.D.). The Ākara-Avanti region which represented both East and West Malwa respectively, became famous under the name Mālava considerably later than the second century A.D.

In the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*,[1] a later Sanskrit work, mentions the East Malwa region as Mālava. The tradition seems to have been supported by the *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa (7th century A.D.). The *Kādambarī*[2] associates Mālava ladies with the Vetravatī, surrounding Vidiśā, and the *Harṣacarita* describes the sons of Mahāsenagupta of East Malwa as *Mālavarājaputra* and the usurper of Mahāsenagupta's throne as *Mālavarāja*.[3]

Ultimately, we find that as the principal city in East Malwa, Vidiśā gave place to the city of Bhāillasvāmin (i.e. Bhilsa, now called Vidisha) in the early mediaeval period.[4] But the issue of the Vadner plates of the Kalacuri king Buddharāja[5] in Kalacuri year 360 = (608 A.D.) from Vaidiśa and the references to the city in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[6] and Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[7] (earlier part of the 10th century) indicate that the ancient city retained some of its importance even in the post-Gupta period.

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 91.
2. Cf. ed. Siddhantavagisa, pp. 19.183.
3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 295-96 notes.
4. See Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 210.
5. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1207.
6. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. XVI, v. 32.
7. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, p. 9.

B CITIES AND TOWNS

Airikiṇa

Ancient Airikiṇa is generally identified with modern Eran, a village on the left bank of the Bina, 11 miles to the west-by-north from Khurai in the Sagar District in Madhya Pradesh. The recent excavations of the three mounds of this ancient region revealed four periods of occupation from the chalcolithic age to about 16-18 centuries A.D.[1]

The name 'Airikiṇa' is believed to have derived its name from the *eraka* grass, known in vernacular as *gondlā*, which profusely grows by the sides of rivers, especially of the Bina, on whose bank the city was situated.[2] It is also possible that the name Airikiṇa may have been derived from 'Airiṇa' meaning a kind of salt (*pāṁśavalavaṇa*) collected from the plants that have luxuriant growth.[3]

The name Airikiṇa is not known to us from any literature. The earliest reference to the name probably occurs on some copper coins of the pre-Christian era, attributed by some to the third century B.C.[4]

On one of these coins found at Eran Allan read the legend as *Erakanya* (Airikiṇyāḥ)[5]. and accordingly Sircar suggests that the city was called Airikiṇī[6] The earliest epigraphic reference

1. B. N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The four main periods are as follows:
Period I— (Chalcolithic)—C. 200 to 700 B.C. Post-chalcolithic.
,, IIA— (Early Historical)— C. 700 B.C. to 200 B.C.
,, IIB— C. 200 B.C. to 1st century A.D.
,, III— 1st century A.D. to 6th century A.D.
,, IV — (Late Medieval) upto 1800 A.D.
See Prof. K.D. Bajpai's article in *Professor Suryya Kumar Bhuyan Commemoration Volume*, Ed., by Prof. H. Neog and Prof.Barpujari, Gauhati, Assam, 1966, pp. 115-20.
2. *I.G.P.B.*, p. 47.
3. For 'Airiṇa' see *Śabdakalpadruma*, Part I, p. 241; also cf. *Anubhidaṁ pāṁśavalavaṇam yajjātaṁ bhūmitaḥ svayam—Bhāvaprakāśa* : *see Śabdakalpadruma*, part I, p. 973.
4. *Archaeological Survey of India*, XIV, p. 149.
5. Allan, *Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins*, p. xci.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 270, note 1.

to the city may be found in the Eran pillar inscription of Samudra gupta, wherein Airikiṇa has been described as the city of the emperor's own *Jāgir* (*Svabhoga-nagara-airikiṇa-pradeśe*).[1] The pillar bearing the inscription may have been raised, as Sircar thinks,[2] by the ruler of Airikiṇa (Airikiṇa-pradeśa), who was probably a feudatory of Samudragupta and a relation of Dattadevī, the chief queen of Samudragupta. The term Airikiṇa-pradeśa signifies a Gupta administrative unit, probably smaller than *deśa* or *bhukti*, of which Airikiṇa or Airikiṇī was the headquarters.

The Eran pillar inscription shows that the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta (C.335-76-A.D.) extended his power at least over the eastern parts of Malwa.[3] Eran continued to be an integral part of the Gupta empire, perhaps, without any interruption upto the reign period of Budhagupta.[4] But, afterwards, it was conquered by the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa who along with his son, Mihirakula overthrew the Gupta sovereignty in Malwa.[5] It may be noted here that Mātṛviṣṇu was a feudatory of Budhagupta, but during the time of his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu, the country was under Toramāṇa (C. 500-515 A.D.). The Hūṇas, however, could not enjoy the fruits of their victory for long. In the Eran stone pillar inscription of Bhānugupta (G.E.191=510 A.D.).[6] We find a general named Goparāja fighting by the side of the Gupta king at Eran, and this battle probably represents a phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūṇas in Central India.[7] The

1. *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 20ff; *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 268 ff. In a recent excavation at Eran a circular clay seald epicting Gajalakṣmī has been discovered. The seal also bears an inscription in the Gupta Brāhmī characters as follows: *Airikiṇe Gomikaviṣa (yā)-dhikara (nasya)*. *op. cit.*, p. 120; *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62—*A Review*, New Delhi, p. 25.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 270, note 1.
3. *A.M.V.T.*, p. 101.
4. Cf. Eran Stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta of 484 A.D., *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 335 ff.
5. Cf. Eran Stone pillar inscription of Toramāṇa (C. 500-15 A.D.), Regnal year I, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 421 ff.
6. Cf. Eran Stone pillar inscription of Bhānugupta of 510 A.D., *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 345 ff.
7. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 346, note 5.

Hūṇas were finally driven out of the Central Indian region by the great Aulikara king, Yaśodharman, and the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula took shelter in the Himalayan region.[1]

The history of Eran after the Hūṇa occupation is obscure. It is possible that Kṛṣṇagupta, the first known member of the so-called 'Later Gupta' line, established the dynasty in East Malwa after the Hūṇas.[2] But it is difficult to say whether the city continued to maintain its previous position in this period.

Araṇipadra

This is mentioned in the Ranod inscription[3] as a place where the sage Purandara, brought by king Avantivarman, is said to have founded a *maṭha*. The name Araṇipadra has been read by Mirashi and others[4] for Raṇipadra read earlier by Kielhorn while editing the same inscription.[5] This has been identified with the present Ranod, the findspot of the said inscription.

Bhāillasvāmin

It is said that with the eclipse of Vidiśā, the city of Bhāillasvāmin (or (Bhāilasvamin) rose into eminence, or we may say like Cunningham[6] that the foundation of Bhāillasvāmin led to the abandonment of the old city (i.e. Vidiśā). In any case, we can trace the rise of Bhāillasvāmin from the early medieval period.

Bhilsa or Bhelsa which is a later corruption of the name Bhāillasvamin,[7] stands on the bank of Betwa (ancient Vetravatī) and is now called Vidisha which is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. Besnagar, repre-

1. Cf. Mandasor Stone pillar inscription of Yaśodharman (C. 525-33 A.D.), *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 418 ff. It may be noted that Yaśodharman claims to have conquered more territories than did the Guptas and Hūṇa kings. This shows that his sovereignty in the Malwa region followed that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas (Cf. line 4 of the inscription).
2. For the history of this family, see the Apshad inscription of Ādityasena of 672 A.D., *C.I.I.*, vol. III, pp. 200 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 354 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXVII, pt. III, pp. 117 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. I, *loc. cit.*
6. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. X, p. 34.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, p. 210.

senting the ancient city of Vidiśā, lies very near to it on the opposite bank of the river.

As to the origin of the name of Bhāillasvamin there are some suggestions. Cunningham noticed that the common people ascribe *Rājā* Bhilu as the founder, while others refer it to the Bhils.[1] It appears that Bhāilla[2] or Bhāilasvāmin was originally the name of an image of the Sun-god worshipped in a great temple at the place which became gradually famous under the name of the deity. In an inscription edited by F. E. Hall more than a century ago, Bhāillasvāmin was regarded as the Sun god (*Ravi*)[3] whose temple was created by Vācaspati, the minister of *Rājā* Kṛṣṇa, who dwelt on the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) river.[4]

The ancient city of Vidiśā seems to have retained some of its importance even in the post-Gupta period as it appears not only in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[5] but in the Vadner plates of the Kalacuri king Buddharāja (608 A.D.), who issued the land grants from Vaidiśā or Vidiśā,[6] as well as in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[7] (earlier part of the 10th century). The temple of Bhāillasvāmin, however, began to gain importance in the meantime. The earliest inscription of Vidisha referring to this temple bears a date in the second half of the ninth century.[8]

1. *A.S.R.*, *loc. cit.*
2. According to Cunningham it may possibly have 'formed anomalously from *bhā*, 'light' and the vedic root *il* defined by the grammarians 'to throw'—'the thrower of light'. Euphony may have doubled the final consonant. To *Bhāillā* add *iṣa*, and the combination is Bhāillesā,' from which we can easily derive Bhelsā or Bhilsā (modern Vidisha), *loc. cit.*
3. Cf. *Bhāillasvāmi-nāmā raviravatu bhuvaḥ svāminaṁ Kṛṣṇarājam*, *J.A.S.B.*, XXX, p. 111.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, *op. cit.*, p. 112 & note. The existence of the temple of Bhāillasvāmin as early as the latter half of the ninth century has been vouched for by the discovery of the inscriptions from Vidisha itself. So if *Rājā* Kṛṣṇa as shown by Hall, is responsible for the erection of the temple, he must be assigned to a period at least earlier than the second half of the ninth century A.D. Some, however, attempt to identify *Rājā* Kṛṣṇa with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III (C. 939-68 A.D.). But in the light of the present discussion this seems to be highly improbable.
5. *Bṛhat.*, ch. XVI, v. 32.
6. Bhandarkar's list, No. 1207.
7. *Kāvya*. (G.O.S.), p. 9.
8. Cf. The Bhilsa inscription, vs. 935, *Ep. Ind.*, op. *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff.

Another inscription found at Vidisha and supposed to be written in characters of the tenth century, is known to have contained a *praśasti* of the said God.[1] Albirūnī[2] (about 1030 A.D.) refers to the city of Bhailsan (Bhāilla° or Bhāilaśvāmin) and locates it on the road from Mathurā to Ujjayinī and Dhārā. He further describes the city as 'a place most famous among the Hindus' and says that 'the name of the town is identical with (that of) the idol worshipped there'. In verse 45 of the Khajuraho inscription of v.s. 1011[3] (954 A.D.), Bhāillasvāmin seems to have been referred to as Bhāsvat on the bank of the Mālavanadī (Vetravatī?). A later Candella charter of king Madanavarman of v.s. 1190 (1132 A.D.)[4] was issued from his camp near Bhāillasvāmin, apparently meaning the deity of the city. An inscription of Paramāra Udayāditya, dated v.s. 1229 (1171 A.D.),[5] mentions the area around Vidisha as *Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala* (i.e. the district called Bhiāllasvāmin consisting of twelve subdivisions), which included Bhṛṅgārikā catuṣṣaṣṭi *Pathaka* (i.e. a subdistrict called Bhṛṅgārikā consisting of sixty-four villages). According to Sircar[6] the name of the district was derived from that of its chief city which again assumed the name of the deity worshipped there.

In 1233-34 A.D. Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi led an army against Malwa and the Muhammadans 'took the fort and city of Bhīlsā or Bhīlasān'. Minhājuddīn, while describing the expedition in his *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, observes that at Bhilsa the Muhammadan destroyed a temple which was 150 *gaz* in height.[7] He also says that the temple was built 300 years earlier.[8] This brings the date of the temple to about the tenth century, although, as seen above, we now possess evidence regarding the existence of the Bhāillasvāmin temple at Bhilsa as early as the second half

1. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, vs. 1979, No. 25.
2. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, pt. I, p. 202; cf. Elliot & Dowson, *Hist. of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. I, p. 59.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 129, 134.
4. Bhandarkar's List, No. 231.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 344 ff.
6. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 210.
7. *Loc. cit.*, cf. *S.E.* p. 71.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, *loc. cit.*

of the ninth century. Though the invasion of 1233-34 could not take away the importance of the god Bhāilla° or Bhāillasvāmin completely,[1] it was not destined to remain long. From the *Muntakhab-Ut-Tawārīkh* of Badauni we learn that in 1292 A.D. 'Alāuddīn under the instruction of the Khiljī Sultān Jalāluddīn Fīrūz of Delhi invaded the city of Bhilsa and brought much booty from there along with 'the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindus'.[2] It is also said that he (i.e. 'Alāuddīn) caused it (i.e. the idol) 'to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāūn to be trampled upon by the people.'[3] In this way, the worship of the God at the city of Bhilsa came to an end.

Bhojakaṭapura

From the *Mahābhārata* it appears that Sahadeva in course of his expedition conquered a place known as Bhojakaṭa.[4] In another place of the Great Epic, it is stated that Rukmi, the brother of Rukmiṇī, the consort of Kṛṣṇa, after his defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, established Bhojakaṭapura, possibly as a second capital of the Vidarbha country.[5] According to the *Harivaṁśa* the city was situated near the Narmadā.[6] Bhojakaṭapura, or Bhojapura in its contracted form may be identified with the site called Bhojapura, which is six miles to the southwest of Vidisha, in the former State of Bhopal, containing numerous Buddhist topes.[7] Cunningham thinks that ancient Vidarbha included the entire region to the north of the Narmadā, which once formed the State of Bhopal.[8]

From the Purāṇic evidence we learn that the Sātvats and the Bhojas were the offshoots of the Yadu family living at Mathurā,

1. The success of Iltutmish was short lived one. The Paramāras appear to rule over this part of their kingdom even after that. *S.E.* pp. 71-72.
2. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* (translated by Ranking, vol.) I, p. 96.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Mbh.*, II, 31, 11-12.
5. *Ibid.*, V, 158, 14-15.
6. *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 117; cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 60, 32.
7. *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 363.
8. *Loc. cit.*

and they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha.[1] The Sātvats of the 'southern region' mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, according to H. C. Raychaudhuri,[2] dwelt beyond the Chambal river. Again, in the Purāṇic list of peoples, the Bhojas are mentioned along with the peoples of Daśārṇa (East Malwa) and Kiṣkindhaka (Southern Udaipur) as living in the Vindhyan region (*Vindhyapṛṣṭhanivāsinaḥ*).[3]

Smith suggests that the name of Bhojakaṭa, 'castle of the Bhojas', implies that the province was named after a stronghold formerly held by the Bhojas,[4] an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka[5] as well as in the inscription of king Khāravela.[6] Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja.[7]

Brahmapurī

The name of this town occurs in the Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalladeva II.[8] Mirashi identifies Brahmapurī with Bahmangaon about seven miles south-by-west of Gurgi in the district of Rewa.[9] From the name it appears that the town was inhabited mainly by the Brāhmaṇas.

Cavarāpura

It is mentioned in the Mandava-mahal inscription at Chaura.[10] The temple known as Maṇḍavāmahal where the inscription

1. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 90.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 34 note.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, pp. 262-63. Bhojakaṭa has been identified with Bhat-Kuli in the Amraoti District (*loc. cit.*). The Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 329) places the Elichpur District in Berar (now in Maharashtra) in the Bhojakaṭa territory which is a part of ancient Vidarbha. According to Sircar, the Bhojas originally lived in Berar, but later founded a kingdom in the Goa region (*S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 34 note).
5. Rock Edicts Nos. V & XIII, *Sel. Ins.* pp. 22 ff; 34 ff.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 213 ff.
7. *Raghu.*, V, 39-40.
8. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 46.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
10. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 174-7.

has been found, was constructed to the east of Cavarāpura, and it is identified with Chaura, about 11 miles from Kawardha.[1] The river Śaṅkarī mentioned in the inscription is about a quarter of a mile away.

Daśapura

The city of Daśapura is identified with the present Mandasor (Mandsaur), on the north or left bank of the river Siwana (sau and seu of the maps), situated in the former Gwalior State in the Western Malwa region of Central India, now in Madhya Pradesh.[2] Varāhamihira places Daśapura among the countries of Southern India.[3] The city is mentioned by Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta*.[4] The Jain work *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* also refers to the city of Daśapura.[5] The earliest epigraphic reference to the city may be found in the Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta,[6] the son-in-law of Nahapāna (C.119-24 A.D.), the Kṣaharāta Śaka chief, and according to this inscription Nahapāna's political influence extended in the different parts of Western India including Daśapura. Afterwards, it was occupied by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, for the Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī[7] refers to Gautamīputra's conquest of the Ākarāvanti region which must have included Daśapura. But Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's success appears to have been short-lived, as we find in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I (150 A.D.)[8] that most of the new territories acquired by the Sātavāhanas including Ākarāvanti, were reconquered by the rulers of the Kārddamaka-Śaka family to which Rudradāman I belonged. These Śaka rulers ruled over the regions for a long period, and were ultimately extirpated by Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.), the Gupta Emperor, about the close of the fourth century A.D.[9]

1. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 176.
2. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 79-80.
3. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 2.
4. Cf. *Daśapura-vadhūnetra-kautūhalānām*, *Megh.* I, 49.
5. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagaṇi, Rutlam, 1928, pp. 400 ff.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 168.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
9. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. CXLV; Sircar in *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1944, pp. 78 ff.

After the extinction of the Śakas, the Aulikaras, probably of Mālava lineage, flourished at Daśapura under the vassalage of the Gupta emperors.[1] Daśapura became one of the most important viceregal seats of the Imperial Guptas. At the time of Kumāragupta I, Aulikara Bandhuvarman ruled at Daśapura[2] as a feudatory. It may be noted that the Aulikara chiefs, unlike other subordinate chiefs of the Gupta emperors, instead of using the Gupta era, always used the Kṛta-krīta or Mālava era.

The name of the city of Daśapura occurs in another inscription from Mandasor, dated v.s. 1321 (1264-65 A.D.).[3] The Mandasor record of v.s. 529 (473 A.D.) seems to suggest that Paścimapura was the other name of Daśapura.[4]

As to the origin gf the name of Daśapura, traditions differ greatly. According to one local account it was originally a city of king Daśaratha.[5] But Fleet suggests that it is so named because, when it was constituted, it included ten (*Daśa*) hamlets (*pura*).[6] In the opinion of Bhagwanlal Indrajit the term Mandasor possibly represents 'Manda-Daśapura' i.e. the distressed or afflicted Daśapura commemoration of the overthrow of the town and spoliation of Hindu temples in it by the Muslims.[7] Fleet notices that even to the present day, the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of the place will not drink water there.[8] Mannadasor is possibly another form of the name.[9] It is called Dasor

1. *A.M.V.T.*, pp. 11-12.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 299 ff. The Mandasor inscription (*loc. cit.*) refers to the migration of the Silk-weavers from the Lāṭa country (Nausārī—Broach region) to Daśapura where they adopted various avocations other than silk weaving.
3. Vide *C.I.I.*, III, p. 79 note 2.
4. Cf. *Yadbhāti paścima purasya niviṣṭa-kānta-cūḍāmaṇi* — Mandasor inscription of 493 & 529, v.30; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 305.
5. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 79 note.
6. *Loc. cit.* It may be noted here that the word 'daś-ādikapura' occurring in the inscriptions of Gauri, has been identified by Sircar with Daśapura. See two inscriptions of Gauri, ed. by D.C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, p. 132.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Loc. cit.*

by the people of the neighbouring villages.[1] Growse suggests that Daśapura is the combination of the town names of Maḍ and Daśapura, the former being the name of a village, about 11 miles south-east of Mandasor.[2] The *Daśapura Māhātmya* may have contained a more plausible explanation of the name; but the contents of this book have not yet come to light.[3]

Dattavāḍā

The Dantewara Telugu inscription of Śaka 984[4] mentions the town of Dattavāḍā as the place of a royal encampment. Hiralal identifies the town with Dantewara, about 46 miles from Jagdalpur in the Bastar District.[5]

Devahrada

This small town of the Raipur District was a place of some importance, as the Sihawa stone inscription of Karṇarāja of Kākaira (Kanker)[6] records the construction of six temples there. It has been identified with Sihawa, where the inscription was found. The inscription is dated Śaka 1114, i.e. 1191-92 A.D.[7]

Devapura

According to the *Padma Purāṇa*,[8] Rāmacandra visited Devapura in order to save his brother Śatrughna from death. It is generally identified with Rajim on the confluence of the Mahānadī and Pairi in the Raipur District, 24 miles south-east of the town of Raipur, Madhya Pradesh.[9] It is said that Vilāsatuṅga, the last king of the Nala dynasty that supplanted the Somavaṁśa dynasty of South Kośala about 700 A.D., erected the temple of Rājīvalocana (another name of Rāmacandra) at

1. *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, I, pp. 265 ff.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 195.
3. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, *loc. cit.*
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 165.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 182 ff.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Padma Purāṇa*, Pātāla, ch. 27, vs. 58-59.
9. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 55; *G.E.A.M.I.*, p. 108.

Rajim for the religious merit of his son who had died.[1] The present name of Rajim is derived from Rājīva.

Dhovahaṭṭa

It is mentioned in the Dhureti plate of Trailokyamalla (Kalacuri 963).[2] N. P. Chakravarti identifies the town with the present Dhureti, 6 miles south-east of Rewa.[3] Mirashi is inclined to identify Dhovahaṭṭa with Dhobhat, near Mukundapur, about 10 miles south by west of Rewa. The headquarters of the Dhanavāhi-pattalā mentioned in the inscription may be identical with Dhanavahi 22 miles to the south-west of Dhobhat.[5]

Durga

The town of Durga has been referred to in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933).[6] It has been identified by Mirashi[7] with Drug, the present chief town of the district of the same name in the Division of Raipur. It appears that there was a fort (*durga*) of the same ruler in the city, and as a result the city itself was ultimately known as 'Durga', from which the present name Drug has been derived. It may be mentioned in this connection that Drug stone inscription[8] refers to a fort named Śivadurga. Hiralal is of opinion that the present name of Drug appears to be the contraction of the old Śivadurga.[9]

Gonarda

The *Pārāyaṇa* incorporated in the Pali *Suttanipāta*[10] places Gonaddha between Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) to the north of Indore,

1. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, p. CXV.
2. *Eb. Ind.*, vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, pp. 531 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 536.
8. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 136; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. XVII.
9. *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
10. Cf. The *Suttanipāta* (ed. V. Faüsboll), vs. 976-77, 1011-13. See 'Gonarda' in *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 206 ff; D.R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on The Ancient History of India* (652 to 325), 1918, pp. 4 ff.

lat. 23°,11′10″N. and long. 75°51′45″E. and Vidiśā (Vedisā modern Besnagar), lat. 23°31′35″N. and long. 77°55′39″E. The catalogue of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī* follows a similar order: 'at Avanti (i.e. Ujjayinī, capital of West Malwa) the Yakṣa is Priyadarśana; at Gonardana Śikhaṇḍin; at Vaidiśa (i.e. Vidiśā, capital of East Malwa) Añjalipriya'.[1] According to Sylvain Levi Gonardana of the Mahāmāyūrī is undoubtedly Gonarda.[2]

The name of Gonarda is also connected with the memory of Patañjali, Gonardīya 'the Gonardian'. According to this tradition which has even been recorded by Kaiyaṭa, by the author of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and by Hemacandra, the personage designated by 'Gonardīya' in the *Mahābhāṣya* is identical with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.[3] Kielhorn, however, thinks that Gonardīya was the author of the Kārikā in verse, cited by Patañjali.[5] Sylvain Levi however, thinks that the designation Gonardīya used by Patañjali, was possibly derived from the place of his birth.[5]

In the traditional division of Āryāvarta into two regions, viz., North and East, Gonarda has been treated as a locality of the 'Orientals' in the *Candravṛtti*[6] and in the *Kāśikāvṛtti*,[7] which explains the formation of the derivative *Gonardīya* without *Vṛddhi*.[8] Vārāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* places Gonarda along with Tumbavana among the countries of the south in his astrological chart of India.[9] According to a statement of the *Paramatthajotikā* of Buddhaghoṣa who flourished earlier than Vārāhamihira, Tumbavana was a step between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbī, on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda towards the Yamunā (Jamuna).[10] It is interesting to note that among the

1. *Journ. Asiat.*, 1915, I, p. 43, v. 19.
2. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 207.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, pp. 81-83.
5. *S.G.A.M.I.*, *loc. cit.*
6. On Candragomin, III, 2, 25, etc.
7. On Pāṇini, I, 1, 76.
8. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 209.
9. Cf. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. XIV,12.
10. See The *Suttanipāta* (ed. Andersen-Smith), p. 194; also *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 214.

benefactors of the *stūpa* of Sāñcī, which is very close to the site of Vidiśā, are represented the peoples of Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayinī and Vidiśā, but not any inhabitants of Gonarda.[1] After Vārāhamihira we do not find the name of Gonarda.[2]

Gopālapura

This town has been referred to in the Pujaripali stone inscription of Gopāladeva.[3] Evidently, the town was named after Gopāladeva. According to Hiralal it was situated near Tewar, while Mirashi is of opinion that it lies on the right bank of the Mand river, 10 miles north-west of Pujaripali in the Bastar District.[4]

Hastināpura

Hastināpura mentioned in the Mandhata plates of Devapāla, v.s. 1282 (1225 A.D.),[5] has been identified by Hiralal with Hathinavara, on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the district of Khargone.

Haṭṭakeśvarapurī

It is mentioned in line 16 of the Raipur Museum stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II.[6] The name of the town also occurs in some other inscriptions.[7] Haṭṭakeśvarapurī which Hiralal took to be the name of an important place,[8] means, according to Mirashi, Alakā, the city of Kuvera (god of wealth).[9] From

1. Cf. Lüders' List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.
2. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. LVII, vs. 20-29) mentions Gonarda along with the countries of the southern and western parts of India. Levi considers these stanzas to be an adaptation from those of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (*S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 213 note). But the Purāṇas in general mention Gonarda along with the eastern countries (cf. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 29, note 3).
3. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 577.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 75-76.
6. This is same as the Akaltara fragmentary Stone inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, pp. 84-85.
7. Cf. *Haṭṭakeśvarapuri khyātā*, Ratanpur fragmentary inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (1158 A.D.), *I.C.P.B.*, p. 134.
8. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 123.
9. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

the findspots of the inscriptions it appears to have been located somewhere in the Bilaspur District.

Jājallapura

This town was evidently founded by Jājalladeva I. The Ratanpur stone inscription of that king (Kalacuri 866)[1] refers to the establishment of a monastery at Jājallapura, for whose maintenance the villages known as Siruli and Arjunakoṇa-śaraṇa were granted. It has been identified with Janjgir, the headquarters of a Tahsil of the same name in the Bilaspur District.[2]

Jāvālipura

It is mentioned in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*.[3] It is possible that it was the chief town of the Jaulipattalā[4] or the District of Jaulipatana.[5] Jāvālipura may be identified with the present Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh.[6]

Kākanāda

According to Cunningham *Sāñcī* is the corrupt form of *Śānti* meaning tranquility, calmness etc.[7] But Fleet is of opinion that the ancient name of Sāñcī, at least from the time of Aśoka to the Gupta period, was Kākanāda, and this seems to indicate that the name Sāñcī is not old.[8]

Literally, *Kākanāda* means 'the noise of the crow'.[9] It was, of course, Bhagavanlal Indraji who at first drew the attention of Fleet to the earliest name of Sāñcī mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśokan time found at Śāñci itself.[10] These are (1)

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 32ff.
2. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 411.
3. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Tawney's translation), p. 161.
4. Cf. Beraghat Stone inscription of the queen Alhaṇadevī, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 7ff.
5. Cf. Jabalpur Copper plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, *ibid.*, pp. 1ff.
6. Bhagavanlal Indraji, *Early History of Gujarat*, p. 203.
7. *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 121.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
10. *Loc. cit.*; according to Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 71 note) the edict of the Sāñcī pillar inscription of the Aśoka seems to have been addressed to the monks of the Kākanāda-boṭa-*mahāvihāra*.

Kākanye bhagavato pamāṇa-laṭhi occurring on the outside of the east gate of the great *stūpa*,[1] and (2) *Sapurisasa Gotiputasa Kākanāda-pabhāsanasa Koḍiṅagotasa* occurring on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in *Stūpa* No. 2.[2]

In the Sāñcī inscription of Candragupta II (G.E. 93) we find 'Kākanādaboṭa-mahāvihāra', i.e. the Kākanādaboṭa[3] monastery, in which 'Kākanādaboṭa' perhaps indicate the great *stūpa* itself. In the seventh century A.D., instead of 'Kākanādaboṭa' we get only 'Boṭa-Śrī Parvata' on the stone slab fixed in monastery No. 43.[4]

Sāñcī is situated about 6 miles to the south-west of Bhilsa (now called Vidisha) and twenty miles north-east of Bhopal. It is celebrated for ancient Buddhist topes, constructed in the different period of history. One of the topes contained the ashes of Sārīputra and Maggallāna, two of the principal disciples of the Buddha.[5]

The *Mahāvaṁsa*[6] refers to a place called Cetiyagiri, which has been identified by Maisey with Sāñcī with its numerous *cetiyas* or *stūpas*.[7] Cunningham also opines that Cetiyagiri, which means the 'Caitya-hill', refers to the great *stūpas* of Sāñcī,[8] while N. L. Dey takes it to be modern Besnagar, near Vidisha.[9]

In the inscriptions, the Sāñcī *Stūpa* seems to be denoted by the term *ratnagṛha* (jewel-house, i.e. the abode of the three *ratnas*, viz., Buddha, *Dharma*, and *Saṅgha*).[10]

1. *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 241 & Plate XVI, No. 39.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 347 & Plate XXIX, No. 7.
3. *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 30ff. We find the name Kākanādaboṭa in another Sāñcī inscription of the Gupta period (i.e. G.E. 131), *Ibid.*, pp. 260 ff.
4. Ven. H.P.N. Thero, *Sanchi* (Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon), p.1. According to H. P. Thero 'Boṭa-Śrī Parvata' became 'Śānti-Śrī Parvata', and like Cunningham, he is also of opinion that Santi became in due course of time Sāñcī, the present name (*loc. cit.*). But Fleet thinks that the Sāñcī or Sācī is a vernacular name, connected in no way with Sanskrit (*C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 29 note).
5. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 178.
6. *Mahāvaṁsa* (Turnour), p. 76.
7. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pp. 3, 5.
8. *A.S.R.*, X, p. 37.
9. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 49.
10. Cf. Sāñcī inscription of Candragupta II, 1.9, *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; Sāñcī inscription of G.E.131, 1.5, *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

Kakareḍikā

It was the chief town of the feudatory State of Kakareḍikā and it has been identified with Kakrehi (long. 81°12′E lat. 24°55′N), on the table land at the head of the principal pass, the Manmaighat, leading to the west towards Banda, Kālañjara and Mahoba.[1] From the four inscriptions of the Mahārāṇakas of Kakareḍikā,[2] we get an interesting account about this important town. One of these inscriptions says that it has high temples, white-washed houses, with tanks, wells, hills, caves, gardens, big trees, learned men and beautiful women.[3]

The Mahārāṇakas at first owed allegiance to the Cedis,[4] but later became feudatories of the Candellas, when Trailokyavarman wrested control of the region from the Cedis sometimes before 1239 A.D.[5]

Kandwaho

The town of Kandwaho has been mentioned by Albirūnī, as lying on the road from Dhārā towards the Deccan.[6] It is identified with the present town of Khandwa in the district of the same name. According to Cunningham Kognabanda of Ptolemy may be the same as Khandwa.[7]

Karṇāvatī

From the Jabalpur copper plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva I[8] we learn that Karṇadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty founded a town after his name known as Karṇāvatī. It has been identified with the village of Karanbel, close to Tripurī or modern Tewar in the district of Jabalpur.

Khalavāṭikā

The Kalori stone inscription of Haribrahmadeva (1415 A.D.)[9] mentions Khalavātikā, which was the capital of Hari-

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 341; *A.S.R.*, vol. XX, pp. 145 ff.
2. *A.S.R.*, *loc. cit.*
3. Cf. Rewa plate of v.s. 1297, *A.S.R. loc. cit.*
4. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 224.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-36; *S.E.*, p. 64.
6. *A.S.R.*, vol. IX, p. 113.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 1 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 228 ff.

brahmadeva, a feudatory ruler. The inscription records the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa in the town. Khalavāṭikā has been identified with the present Kalari, 28 miles from Raipur.[1]

Kheṭakapura

This occurs in the Kherla fort inscription of v.s. 1420 and Śaka 1285 (1368 A.D.),[2] and Hiralal identifies it with the present Kherla itself in the district of Betul.[3] The inscription gives us the earliest known date of the Kherla fort. From the accounts of Firishta, we learn that Narasiṁha Rai, king of Kherla, opened hostilities with the Bahmani kings in 1398 A.D., and the Bahmanis in turn invaded Narasiṁha's territory and pursued his troops to Kherla.[4]

Kiraṇapura

It is said that Kalacuri Mugdhatuṅga Śaṅkaragaṇa at the head of his army, joined Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II at Kiraṇapura.[5] Their mission was to put up a combined resistance against the Eastern Cālukya king Vijayāditya III. But in the battle that followed the Cālukya king came out victorious and Kiraṇapura was burnt by the Cālukya general, Pāṇḍuraṅga.[6] Thus, the Maliyapundi grant of Amma II states that Vijayāditya III 'terrified Śaṅkila (i.e. Śaṅkaragaṇa), the lord of the excellent Ḍāhala, who was joined by the fierce Vallabha (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief) and burnt Kiraṇapura.[7] The Pithapuram inscription also informs that Vijayāditya frightened Śaṅkila, residing in Kiraṇapura and was joined by Kṛṣṇa.[8]

Kiraṇapura has been identified with modern Kiranpur in the Balaghat District, Madhya Pradesh.[9]

1. *Loc. cit.*, *I.C.P.B.*, p. 108.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 90.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *A. I. K.* pp. 88, 89, 135.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 47.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 40 ff.
9. *A.I.K.*, pp. 88, 135.

Madhumatī

It occurs in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II[1] and is identified with Mahua, a small hamlet one mile south of Terahi, about 5 miles south-east of Ranod. It appears that the sage Mādhumateya got his name from Madhumatī.[2]

Mallāla

The Malhar stone inscription of Jājalladeva (Kalacuri 919)[3] records the erection of the Kedāra (Śiva) temple at the town of Mallāla. It was a town under the Kalacuris of South Kośala, and has been identified with the present village of Mallar, 16 miles south-east of Bilaspur.

Mānapura

It appears from the Undikavatika grant[4] that king Abhimanyu of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was residing at Mānapura. Although the find-spot of the record is unknown, scholars like Fleet and others are inclined to believe that Mānapura is identified with the present Manpur, near Bandhogarh in the Rewa Divison, and that it must have been the capital of this branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[5] Some hold that the kings of Mānapura are identical with those of Śarabhapura.[6] Hiralal thinks that Mānpura was a small village where Abhimanyu encamped when he made the grant in the present Hoshangabad District, and it is now non-existent.[7] But the recent discovery of another grant of this family in the neighbourhood of Kalhapur sets all these speculations at rest, and according to Sircar it "points unmistakably to the fact that the royal house of Mānapura ruled in the southern part of the Maratha country."[8]

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 45.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 39 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509 ff.
5. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 70.
6. *C. A.*, p. 199.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
8. *C.A.* p. 200. Sircar, however, accepts Mirashi's identification of Mānapura with Man in the Satara District; See *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXV, p. 42.

Maṇḍapadurga

The Mandhata copper plate grant of Jayavarman II (1261 A.D.), was issued from here.[1] It is the present Mandagarh (Mandu) in the District of Dhar. Maṇḍapadurga also occurs in another inscription of v.s. 1331.[2]

Nanhwara

This is believed to be an ancient town, the name of which has been noticed by Hiralal in the Murwara slab inscription.[3] According to this inscription Nanhwara was the royal seat of a local chief named Sabhāsiṁhadeva, and it was situated in the Pargana Maihar, at present in the Satna District of the Rewa Division.

Nārāyaṇapura

This town is mentioned in some inscriptions, and is identified with the present village of the same name in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the district of Raipur.[4] The Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva (Kalacuri 933) speaks of the erection of an alms-house and garden at Nārāyaṇapura.[5] The Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 915) also mentions the construction of similar objects of public utility.[6] Nārāyaṇapura was situated on the bank of the Mahānadī.[7]

Another small town of the same name appears in the Narayanpal inscription of Guṇḍa Mahādevī (Śaka 1033 = 1111 A.D.).[8] The inscription records the grant of Nārāyaṇapura to the god Nārāyaṇa. It has been identified with Narayanpal situated on the bank of the Indravati river, 23 miles north-west

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 117.
2. Cf. Mandhata plate of Paramāra Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman, v.s. 1331 (ed. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII).
3. *D. L. I. C. P. B.* p. 40. In the later edition Hiralal changed the name of the inscription as Nanhwara slab; Vide *I.C.P.B.*, No. 66, p. 43.
4. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII.
6. Kielhorn's List of inscriptions of Northern India, No. 417; *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 47.
7. *C.I.I.*, *loc. cit.*
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 161-62, 311 ff.

of Jagdalpur in the District of Bastar.[1] The Kuruspal tank slab inscription of Dharaṇa-Mahādevī seems to refer to this town from where the visitors came to witness the ceremony of granting a piece of land near the village Kalamba (unidentified) to god Kāmeśvara (Śiva) by the queen herself.[2]

Padmāvatī

This was a famous city of ancient India, an elaborate description of which can be found in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*.[3] The city was situated at the confluence of the rivers Sindhu (Sindh) and Pārā (Pārvatī). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* mentions the city as situated on the river Sindh.[4] Cunningham identified the city of Padmāvatī with the old Nalapura (modern Narwar) city.[5] Dey thinks that Padmāvatī was the city of Vidyānagara, identified with modern Bijayanagara, 25 miles below Narwar.[6] But the above views do not find favour with scholars who identify the city with Padma Pawaya, 25 miles north-east of Narwar "in the apex of the confluence of the Sindhu and Pārā".[7]

Nāgasena, mentioned in the list of the vanquished rulers of Āryāvartta in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, met his doom at Padmāvatī.[8] It may be mentioned in this connection that besides a palmleaf capital with an inscription of the first and second century B.C., a large number of Nāga coins have been discovered from the locality.[9]

Padmapura, which is considered to be the birthplace of Bhavabhūti, has been identified with Padmāvatī.[10] This

1. *Loc. cit.*, *I.C.P.B.*, p. 160.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 163; vol. X, pp. 31 ff; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 162-63.
3. Act IV; trans. by Wilson in *Hindu Theatre*, vol. II, p. 95.
4. *Bhāg. P.*, Book XII, ch. I.
5. Cunningham thinks that the name of Nalapura may only be a synonym of Padmāvatī-Nagara, as *nala* or 'water-lily' is frequently used as an equivalent of *Padma* or the lotus'; *A.S.R.*, II, 1864-65, p. 307, 319.
6. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 143, s.v. Padmāvati.
7. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 300; *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, pp. 101 ff.
8. Cf. *Nāgakula-janmanaḥ sārikā-śrāvitamantrasya āsīd=nāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām*, *P.H.A.I.*, p. 536.
9. Smith, *loc. cit.*, *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, *loc. cit.*
10. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 143, s.v. Padmapura.

is highly improbable, because Bhavabhūti's birthplace was situated in Vidarbha in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[1] But a recent Vākāṭaka inscription[2] discovered in the Drug District contains an interesting reference to Padmapura which Mirashi identifies with the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti and with the modern Padamapur near Amgaon in the Bhandara District of Maharashtra.

Padmāvatī was celebrated as a place of learning, especially for its teaching in logic in the eighth century when Bhavabhūti flourished.[3]

Pālī

In the first part of the Bilahri stone inscription of the Cedi rulers, king Mugdhatuṅga has been eulogised as having wrested Pālī from the lord of Kośala (Dakṣiṇa).[4] Pālī is identified with a village of that name near Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District.[5] But, at the time of its conquest by Mugdhatuṅga, it was probably an important centre of administration under the Dakṣiṇa-Kośala rulers belonging to the Somavaṁśa. Otherwise, there is no point in extolling the Kalacuri king by his successors[6] for the conquest of Pālī. Conquest of Pālī should be regarded as a land mark in the history of the Kalacuri expansion in the Chhattisgarh region, for after that incident the rulers of the Somavaṁśī were being gradually driven out from the area, although permanent occupation of Chhattisgarh by the Kalacuris has to be assigned to the eleventh century.[7]

The importance of Pālī is further illustrated by archaeological finds as well as by the discovery of a few inscriptions from this

1. The *Vīracarita* refers to the city of Padmapura as situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha. But the *Mālatīmādhava* clearly informs that the city was in Vidarbha which isi n the Dakṣiṇāpatha (*Dakṣiṇāpathe Vidarbheṣu etc.*). See *Uttararāmacaritam* (ed. Kumudranjan Ray), 1926, pp. vi-vii.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 207 ff.; *I.H.Q.*, 1935, p. 299.
3. Cf. *Mahāvīracarita*, Act I; also *Mālatīmādhava*, Act I, see *G.D.A.M.I.* s.v. Padmāvatī.
4. See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 251 ff.
5. *Loc. cit.*; *A.I.K.*, p. 146.
6. .....
7. *A. I. K.*, pp. 146 ff.

region.[1] From another source we learn that a temple was constructed at Pālī by the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya (C. 870-95 A.D.) on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.[2] We are not quite sure about the identity of these relatives. But some[3] think that they were the Nalas of Puṣkarī, who conquered South Kośala shortly after Śivagupta Bālārjuna in the seventh century and possibly, continued to rule there till the rise of the Somavaṁśis.

Pahapaka

The town of Pahapaka has been mentioned in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933)[4] and identified with Patpura, 16 miles to the north of Kharod in the Janjgir Tahsil in the district of Bilaspur.[6]

Pura

It is mentioned in the Karitalai stone inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja II.[6] According to Mirashi Pura, where eight Brāhmaṇas were made to settle, is still known by the name Bamhori (i.e. Brāhmaṇapurī which lies about 2 miles east of Karitalai in the Jabalpur District.[7]

Purikā

It is stated in the *Harivaṁśa*[8] that, in accordance with the desire of his father, Mucukunda built two cities, of which the first was Māhiṣmatī, at the feet of the two mountains Vindhya and Ṛkṣavat, and the second called Purikā in the centre of the Ṛkṣa mountains. The Purikās appear to have settled near the Narmadā and the Māhiṣmatī region.[9] The city of Purikā seems to be referred to in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[10] and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[11]

1. For archaeological remains, See *A.S.R.*, VII, pp. 217 ff., and Pali Temple inscriptions, *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 124-25; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, pp. 408 ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 53; *C.A.*, p. 190.
3. *C.A.*, *pp* 190, 222.
4. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 174 ff.
7. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
8. *Harivaṁśa*, ii, 38, 20-22; *A.I.H.T.*, p. 262; *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 446.
9. S.B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
10. *Bṛhat.*, ch. 14.
11. *Mārk.*, ch. 57.

According to Fleet Purikā is to be located to the south of the island of Māhiṣmatī (Māndhātā in the Khandwa District) according to him in the Narmadā, where the map shows villages named Godurpoora, Bainpoora, Bamunpoora and Dhooka.[1]

In spite of the tragic end of Devabhūti,[2] the Śuṅga power seems to have survived in Central India[3] till the rise of the so-called Andhras, Andhra-bhṛtyas or Sātavāhanas who, it is said not only assail the Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, but swept away the remains of the Śuṅga power, and possibly appointed Śiśunandi to govern Vidiśā; and Śiśunandi's younger brother's grandson named Śiśuka became the ruler of Purikā,[4] which may be identical with the city of the same name mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*. It may be mentioned here that a city named Purikā finds mention in some of the inscriptions at Bharaut.[5]

Rāyapura

The antiquity of the town of Rāyapura (the present Raipur) cannot go back, as Beglar[6] thinks, to much beyond the 14th century, for the earliest inscription containing the name is dated Saṁvat 1458.[7] But according to the Gazetteer, a branch of the Ratanpur king's family established itself at Raipur in the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[8] No authority has been quoted in support of the statement, which is not, however, borne out by any archaeological remains in or about the town.[9]

According to the Raipur inscription of Brahmadeva[10] the temple of Hāṭakeśvara (Śiva) was erected at Rāyapura, which is clearly Raipur, during the reign of Brahmadeva.

1. *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*, Purikā, the Vākāṭaka capital, was situated somewhere in Berar, *The New History of the Indian People* (ed. Majumdar and Altekar), vol. VI, p. 114.
2. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 395.
3. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXI, p. 234, No. 83; p. 236, Nos. 117-19.
6. *A.S.R.*, vol. VII, p. 165.
7. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII, p. 83.
8. *A.S.R.*, *loc . cit.*; cf. *Raipur District Gazetteer.*
9. *A.S.R.*, *loc. cit.*
10. *Ind. Ant.*, *loc. cit.*, *I.C.P.B.*, p. 109.

Saubhāgyapura

It is mentioned in the Bilhari inscription of Yuvarāja II.[1] It is called Sohagpur, the headquarters of the Tahsil of that name in the district of Shahdol. Near about the town, there are some ruins which are said to be the site of the capital of *Rājā* Vairāṭa of the *Mahābhārata*[2]. The town accordingly is said to have been called Vairāṭapura in ancient times.[3] Beglar, however, dismisses the legend of *Rājā* Vairāṭa as an 'idle invention'.[4]

Śivapura

The Drug stone inscription[5] refers to king Śivadeva and his chief town Śivapura, apparently named after him. The inscription also mentions Śivadurga, indicating that the town and the fort were separate in the times of Śivadeva.[6] The present name of Drug appears to be a contraction of Śivadurga.[7]

Tulajāpura

It is mentioned in the *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*.[8] Dey[9] takes it to be the same as the town of Bhavānī or Tulajā-Bhavānī referred to in the *Śaṁkaravijaya*.[10] The place seems to have been visited by Śaṁkarācārya. According to one Purāṇic tradition, Durga slew Mahiṣāsura at this place.[11] The town is identified with Tuljapur, 4 miles from the Khandwa Rly. station in the district of East Nimar (now in the Khandwa District).[12]

The '*Ain-i-Akbarī*[13] mentions Tulajāpura. The name of the goddess of this place is sometimes given as Mahāsarasvatī (locally called Tukai).[14]

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 251 ff.
2. *A.S.R.*, vol. VII, p. 245.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
5. *A.S.R.*, vol. XVII, pp. 3-4.
6. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 136.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Devībhāgavata Purāna*, VII, 38.
9. *G.D.A.M.I.*, s.v. Tulajāpura.
10. *Śaṁkaravijaya*, ch. 19.
11. Cf. *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*, *loc. cit.*
12. Se *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. IX, part I, p. 549.
13. Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, p. 396.
14. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 207, s.v. Tuljābhavānī.

Tumbavana

The people of Tumbavana are referred to in the Purāṇic list of peoples as amended by Sircar.[1] Tumbavana has been identified with modern Tumain in the Guna District, old Gwalior State. The name seems to have been mentioned in Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the *Suttanipāta*, known as *Paramatthajotikā*, according to which Vana-Savhaya (literally, 'which bears the name of a *Vana* or forest') of the *Pārāyaṇa*[2] designates Tumbavana-nagara, while others maintain that this is Vanasāvatthi (*Vana-Savhayan—tī Tumbavana-(na) garaṁ vuccati, Vansāvatthin—ti pi eke*).[3] From the *Pārāyaṇa*, we learn that Tumbavana was situated between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbī, on the route from Gonaddha (Gonarda) towards the Yamunā (Jamuna).[4] Again, the five inscriptions,[5] found in the *Stūpa* of Sāñcī near the site of Vidiśā (lat. 23°28′N long. 77°48′E) commemorate the donations made by some citizens of Tumbavana-nagara, which was apparently a prosperous town.

This city again comes to our notice in the Gupta period. The Tumain fragmentary inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I and Ghaṭotkacagupta mentions Tumbavana.[6] The inscription is dated in the Gupta year 116 (435-36 A.D.).

Ucahaḍānagar

The Karitalai inscription refers to the reign of *mahārāja* Vīrarāmadeva of Ucahaḍānagara[7] which must have been the capital town of the feudatory *Mahārāja*. The inscription is dated in saṁvat 1412 or 1335 A.D., and the town of Uchaḍā is identified with the present Uchahra or Uñchahra, 31 miles to the north of Karitalai.[8]

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 32, 35 and notes.
2. Cf. *Ujjeniñ-c-āpi Gonaddhaṁ Vedisaṁ Vana-Savhayaṁ*, from the *Pārāyaṇa* incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*. (ed. Anderson Smith).
3. *Suttanipāta* (ed. Anderson & Smith), p. 194.
4. Sylvain Levi's *Gonarda*, etc. (trans. by Sircar), see *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 214.
5. Lüder's List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.
6. Cf. (*Kṛtā*) *layā—stumbavane Va* (*bhu*) vaḥ *Sel. Ins.*, p. 299.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, No. 48, p. 39.
8. *Loc. cit.*, also Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. IX, pp. 5-6.

Vairantya

The *Harṣacarita* refers to Vairantya as the capital town of Rantideva,[1] who is famous in the *Mahābhārata* for his sacrifices, and the river Carmaṇvatī is said to have emerged out of the blood of a large number of the cows sacrificed by him.[2] Vairantya may be identical with Rantipura, the abode of Rantideva alluded to by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*.[3] Rantipura is same as Rintambur or Rintipur on the Gomatī, a branch of the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal) in the Malwa region.[4]

Varelāpura

Varelāpura or Barelapura mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II,[5] has been identified with Barela, 10 miles south of Ratanpur, in the District of Bilaspur.

Vikarṇapura

From the Ratanpur inscription of Vallabharāja[6] we know that both the temple of Revanta and the tank of Vallabhasāgara (also mentioned in the Akaltara inscription of Ratnadeva II)[7] were situated in Vikarṇapura. The town of Vikarṇapura is also mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II.[8] It has been identified with Kotgarh, 12 miles east of Akaltara in the Bilaspur District.[9] Hiralal, however, thinks that Kumarākoṭa was the earlier name of Kotgarh.[10]

The towns which have not yet been properly located are mentioned below.

Durlabhapura

It is mentioned in the Biluri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II and not yet identified.

1. Cf. *Vairantyaṁ Rantidevaṁ, Harṣacarita*, ch. VI.
2. *Mbh.*, VII, ch. 67.
3. Cf. *Rantidevasya kīrttim, Megh.* I, 47.
4. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 167, s.v. Rantipura.
5. *C.I.I., op. cit.*, p. 503.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 121-22.
8. *C.I.I., op. cit.*, p. 493.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

Evaḍi

The Bilaigarh plate of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896)[1] refers to the town, which was the headquarters of the *maṇḍala* of the same name. The location of Evaḍi cannot be ascertained.

Jagapālapura

The Rajim stone inscription of Jagapāladeva (1145 A.D.)[2] mentions Jagapālapura. The town was evidently named after Jagapāladeva, but it cannot be identified.

Lakhaṇāpura

This town has been mentioned in the Mandhata plate of Paramāra Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman, v.s. 1331.[3] But it has not been properly located.

Lavaṇanagara

It is referred to in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvaraja II,[4] but its present location cannot be determined.

Pipalamadurga

This fort-town mentioned in the Alhaghat stone inscription of Narasiṁha (v.s. 1216 = 1159 A.D.)[5] is not traceable at present.

Tejallapura

The townwas most probably founded by Tejalladeva, a Kalacuri prince belonging to a collateral branch and mentioned in the Seorinarayan inscription.[6] The Ratanpur inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 915 or 1163 A.D.)[7] refers to the town Tejallapura among other places, where some public welfare works like the construction of temples, tanks, roads and gardens were carried out.

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 89.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff.
3. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 45; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 23-5.
4. Ed. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 147.
5. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 62.
6. Cousens' *Progress Report*, 1904, pp. 52-53; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 122.
7. Kielhorn's Lists of Inscriptions of Northern India,No. 417, Note I; *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 47.

Vimānapura

This occurs in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II,[1] but its present location is not known.

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 45; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 23-5.

CHAPTER VII

VILLAGES AND ROUTES

IDENTIFIED VILLAGES

Agarā

The Jabalpur plate of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 918)[1] records the donation of the Village Agara. Mirashi identifies it with Agaria in the Sihora Tahsil, about 20 miles north-east of Jabalpur.[2]

Ambipāṭaka

This village was granted by queen Nohalā to a sage, according to the Bilahri inscription of Yuvarāja II.[3] Mirashi identifies it with Amkuhi, eight miles north-east of Bilahri in the Jabalpur District.[4]

Arjunakoṇa-Śarana

This finds mention in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva I (Kalacuri 866),[5] as one of the donated villages.

It may be identified with Arjuni, 14 miles west of Janjgir in the district of Bilaspur.

Bahmanigrāma

We find this village mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of Kalacuri year 915 (1163 A.D.).[6] Hiralal identifies it with Bahmanidih in the former Champa Zamindari in the Janjgir Tahsil in the district of Bilaspur, where the largest cattle market of the district is held twice a week.[7]

Buḍubuḍū

This is the donated village mentioned in the Amoda Plate (Second set) of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 905).[8] Hiralal identifies it with Burbur in the former Lapha Zamindari, 2 miles south-west of Pālī in the Bilaspur Tahsil.[1] But Mirashi does not accept it, for he thinks that Buḍubuḍū must have been situated near about of Amoda, although its location is uncertain.[2]

1. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 63.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 45.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-09.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 77.
6. Kielhorn, *Lists of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 417.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 115-16.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 486 ff.

Budukunī

The village Budukunī, which is mentioned in the Daikoni plates of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 890-1128 A.D.),[3] was granted to a Brāhmaṇa. Mirashi identifies Budukunī with Daikoni from where the plates were found, and he thinks that the old place-name has lost its first syllable in course of time.[4] Budukunī was situated in the Madhyadeśa which was probably identical with Madhyamaṇḍala mentioned in both the sets of the Amoda plates[5] issued by Pṛthvīdeva II himself a few years later.

Bunderā

This village was granted according to the Amoda plates of Jājalladeva II (Kalacuri 919).[6] It has been identified with Bundela, 11 miles south-west of Amoda, from where the inscription was discovered, in the district of Bilaspur.[7]

Cikhali

This village is mentioned in the Tahankapar plate of Pamparājadeva (Kalacuri 965).[8] Hiralal identifies it with modern Chikli, 21 miles north of Kankar in the district of Bastar.

Ciñcātalāi

This is mentioned in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 880).[9] According to Mirashi it is identified with

1. *Ibid.*, p. 492.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 86.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 444.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 492.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 522 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 530.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 597.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 83.

Cicola (long. 32°39′E., lat. 22°10′N.) On the left bank of the Hasdo in the Janjgir Tahsil (of the Bilaspur District).[1] It is only 8 miles north-by-east of Sarkho, the findspot of the inscription.

Ciñcātalāi is probably the same as Cinceli mentioned in the Sheorinarayan inscription of Jājalladeva II (Kalacuri 919).[2]

Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka

This village was granted along with others for the maintenance of a Śiva temple erected by the Kalacuri queen Mohalā, and it was mentioned in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II.[3]

Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka has been identified by Hiralal[4] with the present Thanora, 3 miles north of Bilahri, but Mirashi,[5] identifies it with Dungarhi, 7 miles south of Bilahri.

Dugauḍa

This is mentioned in the Ajayagarh rock inscription of Candella Kīrttivarman,[5] and is identified with the modern Digaura (Dogora of the map) which is situated some 15 miles from Tikamgarh on the Orccha-Tikamgarh road, in 24°58′N. and 78°85′E.[6] It is said that the ruling family of Orccha hailed from Digapura, old Dugauda, and was, therefore known as the Digaura family.[7]

Dvāravāṭikā

The Betul plates of Saṁkṣobha[8] record the grant of the village of Dvāravāṭikā in the province of Tripurī. The village has been identified with Dwara near Bilahrī, about 9 miles from Katni-Marwara in the district of Jabalpur.[9]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 45.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 24.
5. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 87-89.
7. *Eastern States Gazetteer*, vol. VI-A, p. 74.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 284 ff.
9. *Loc. cit.*

Garbha

This occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva I (Kalacuri 866).[1] It is a small village, and may be identified with Gobra in the Janjgir Tahsil in the Bilaspur District.

The village of Gorbha seems to have been mentioned also in the Raipur and Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I.

Girahulī

It is mentioned in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933), and has been identified with Girolpali in the Janjgir Tahsil of the Bilaspur District.[2]

Gori

It is mentioned in the Paragaon plates of Ratnadeva II and identified with Gora, 18 miles south of Paragaon in the district of Raipur.[3]

Goṣṭapālī

It is one of the donated villages mentioned in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II.[4] It may be identified with modern Goṭākhera, 10 miles east of Bilahri.

Goṭhadā

The village of Goṭhadā has been referred to in the Ghotia plates of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 900 or 1000).[5] Mirashi identifies it with Gotia, where the present plates were found, in the district of Raipur.[6]

Guḍaśarkaraka

This village is mentioned in the Senakapat inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna[7] along with others from which plots of

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 77.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 536.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 624.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 92.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 480.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff.

land were granted in favour of a temple as well as the Śaiva ascetics.

In the neighbourhood of Sirpur there are a few villages called Sankra, a name having some resemblance to Guḍaśarkaraka of the inscription. The nearest village called Sankra lies about 13 miles due west of Sirpur (Śrīpura).[1] Scholars are inclined to place the village on or near the site of modern Senakapat on the right bank of the Mahānadī, about 2 miles to the South of Sirpur in the district of Raipur.[2]

Haladī

It is mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva I (Kalacuri 866), and probably identical with the village of Haldi in the Bilaspur Tahsil, 35 miles south-west of Janjgir.[3]

Hastivadha

This is mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 910).[4] It has been identified with Hasod in the Janjgir Tahsil, about 22 miles east of Sheorinarayan.

Hastiyāmaṭhī

The village of Hastiyāmaṭhī, from which the donee of the Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I had emigrated, is possibly identified with Hathmudi in the Mungeli Tahsil of the Bilaspur District, about 48 miles west of Bilaspur.[5]

Jaiparā

It is mentioned in the Tahankapar plate of Pamparājadeva (Kalacuri 965).[6] Hiralal takes it to Jaipra, 15 miles north of Kanker. Mirashi accepts the identification.

Jalakoikā

It has been referred to in the Drug stone inscription.[7] The village Jalakoikā was granted for the repairs of a temple. It

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *C.I.I., op. cit.*, No. 77.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 493 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 597.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 136.

has been identified with Kohaka, 6 miles north-east of Drug, *Jala* being addded, as Hiralal points out, to show its comparative wetness.[1]

Jaḍera

This is mentioned in the Amoda plate (first set) of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 900).[2] It may be the same as Jaṇḍera alluded to in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II, which has been identified by Mirashi with Jondra on the Seonath river, just outside the south-west boundary of the Janjgir Tahsil.

Kadambaguhā

This is mentioned in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II[3] as the original seat of a Śaiva Sect. Kadambaguhā also figures in an inscription found at Ranod. Kielhorn identifies it with Kadwaha, about 6 miles south of Terahi near Ranod.[4] It may be noted, however, that the Ranod inscription mentions Kadambaguhā as the place of residence of the spiritual ancestor of the sage Purandara, brought from Upendrapura by Avantivarman who ruled in Central India. According to Mirashi[5] Kadambaguhā may be the same as Kadambapadraka situated in the *maṇḍala* of Upendrapura which is mentioned in a grant of the Paramāra king Naravarmadeva,[6] and has to be located somewhere in the Malwa region.[7]

Kaṇḍaravāḍa

There are many villages named Kunda or Kundan near Jabalpur, of which one may be identified with ancient Kaṇḍaravāḍa, mentioned in Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha.[8]

Karoḍhaka

This is one of the donated villages mentioned in the Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalladeva II.[9] The donation was made by Yuvarājadeva.

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *C.I.I., op. cit.*, No. 91.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 251 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
5. *C.I.I., op. cit.*, pp. 208-09.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.
7. *C.I.I., loc. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 46., p. 227.

There are several villages of the name Karaondi or Karaundia in the Rewa District. But Mirashi identifies Karoḍhaka with Karaondi, a village nearest to Gurgi, lying only 4 miles to the south-east.[1]

Kāyaṭhā

This village finds mention in the Pendrabandh plates of Pratāpamalla (Kalacuri 965).[2] It has been identified with modern Kaita, 15 miles west of Pendrabandh and 3 miles beyond the southern limits of the Janjgir Tahsil.

Keramarka

The Barsur inscription of Gaṅgā Mahādevī refers to the village of Keramarka (or Keramarkuka), which is identified with Kodamalnar close to Barsur in the district of Bastar.[3]

Keśavaka

The name of this village occurs in the Kurud plates of Narendra (year 24) of Śarabhapura.[4] It has been identified with a small village named Keshwa standing on the bank of a nullah bearing the same name in the Mahasamund Tahsil of the Raipur District.

Khahanasithi

It is mentioned in the Bhilsa inscription of v.s. 935.[5] It was probably situated in the Bhilsa (now called Vidisha) area. The inscription also indirectly refers to its findspot (i.e. Mahalquat at Vidisha) as *iha* (i.e. here).[6]

Khāḍā

The Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 910)[7] refers to the village Khāḍā near which a lake was

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*, p. 545.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 164.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. XXX, pp. 210 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
7. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 493 ff.

formed, Mirashi identifies it with Karra, about a mile and a half to the east of Ratanpur, near which there is still the extensive Kharung tank.[1]

Khailapāṭaka

This is one of the donated villages mentioned in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II.[2] The village may be the same as the present Kailwara, about 7 miles to the north-east of Bilahri in the Bilaspur District.

Khayarī

The Barhi Copper plates of 828 (Kalacuri era), found recently, records the grant of a Khayarī village with its well-defined boundaries to a learned Brāhmaṇa by the Kalacuri king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva.[3] It is suggested that Khayarī may be identified with the present Khairha village[4] from where other copper plates[5] of the same ruler were discovered earlier. Khairha is situated in Vindhya Pradesh, about 8 miles South-west of Burhar Railway Station on Katni-Bilaspur branch of Bengal Nagpur Railway.

Koḍāsīmā

According to the Senakapat inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna[6] plots of land of some villages including Koḍāsīmā were granted in favour of a temple as well as the Śaiva ascetics. Koḍāsīmā has been identified with a village called Korasi, about 15 miles south-west of Sirpur.[7]

Kontiṇīka

The Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja[8] records the grant of a village Kontiṇīka, situated in the *Viṣaya* (District) of Astadvara (Adhabhara). Kontiṇīka may be identified

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
3. Cf. The Barhi C.P. of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva of 828 (Kalacuri era), *The Vikram*, Vikram University, Ujjain Vol. x. No. 2, 4, 1966, pp. 25 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 205 ff.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 219 ff.

with the modern villages of Kathakoni and Kotmi, 12 miles from Adhabhara in the district of Bilaspur, 40 miles from its headquarters.[1]

Kosambī

The Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva (Kalacuri 919) records the grant of a village called Kosambī by Ratnadeva of South Kośala.[2] Kosambi may be equated with Kosamdih 8 miles from Mallar in the district of Bilaspur.

Kudavaṭhe

It appears in the Pratīhāra grants from Kuretha.[3] It was a gift village, and has been identified with Kuretha which is the findspot of the record.

Kurapadra

This village was granted for the maintenance of the temple mentioned in the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta.[4] It is probably identical with Kulapadar, about 15 miles south-east of Sirpur in the district of Raipur.

Madhuveḍha

It is one of the granted villages mentioned in the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta.[5] It is possibly the same as Madhuban, a small hamlet about 4 miles from Turenga near Kulapadar, 15 miles south-east of Sirpur.

Makarapāṭaka

According to the Bharaghat stone inscription[6] queen Alhaṇadevī, mother of Kalacuri Narasiṁhadeva, grants this village along with another for maintenance of a Śiva temple, etc. The inscription records that Makarapāṭaka is on the right bank of the Narmadā. Mirashi[7] thinks that it may be identified with

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 39 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. XXX, p. 132.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 103-4.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 7ff.
7. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 60, p. 314.

Magaramuha, about 4 miles to the west of Bheraghat in the Jabalpur District. Magaramuha is at the foot of the hill and almost near the right bank of the Narmadā. Thus its situation answers to the description of it given in the inscription.

Mandhyaṭā

This is mentioned in the Drug stone inscription.[1] The village was situated in the Kikkiḍā *ābhoga* (sub-division) and was granted for the maintenance of a temple. The location of Mandhyatā is not exactly known, but Kikkiḍā is possibly represented, as Mirashi thinks, by Kikirḍā in the Bilaspur District.[2] Hiralal suggests that Kikkiḍā may be Kukda, 18 miles east of Drug in the district of Drug.[3]

Mattināṇḍu

This is mentioned in the Pontiner Telugu inscription of the time of Jagadeka-bhūṣaṇa as a grant to cover the expense of a garden named Candrādityanandanavana, near a Śiva temple.[4] Hiralal thinks that Mattināṇḍu is identified with Pontinar, the findspot of the inscription, 70 miles west of Jagdalpur in the district of Bastar, for, as he points out, the transformation from Mattinar to Pattinar or Patinar is an easy process in the mouth of the Gonds who now inhabit this country.[5]

Nagabala

The Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II records the grant of the village of Nagabala for the maintenance of a Śiva temple.[6] Mirashi identifies the village with modern Naigawan, 2 miles to the south of Bilahri.[7]

Nāṭiyāgrāma

The village mentioned in the Mandhata plates of Paramāra Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman (v.s. 1331),[8] is probably identical

1. *I.C.P.B.* p.136.
2. *A.S.R.*, vol. XVII, pp. 3-4.
3. *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 145 note.
6. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 45.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 147.

with the modern Navtiya village near the Biruania Rly. Station in the Ujjain District.

Navaṇṇaka

The Khariar plates of Mahāsudeva[1] record the grant of the village of Navannaka near Sāmbilaka in the Kṣitimaṇḍahāra. According to Hiralal Navannaka is identified with Nahna or Naina, about 3 miles south of Khariar in the Raipur District.[2] Other names are not traceable.

Nipānīya

According to the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II,[3] Queen Nohalā, wife of the Kalacuri ruler Keyūravarṣa, granted the village of Nipānīya to a sage. Hiralal identifies it with Nipania, 10 miles south-west of Bilahri in the Jabalpur District.[4]

Pāḍi

This is mentioned in the Tahankapar plate of Pamparājadeva (Kalacuri 965) and identified with Pade, 18 miles west-by-south of Kanker.[5]

Pamvā

The Arang plates of Mahājayarāja[6] record the grant of a village named Pamvā in the Pūrvarāṣṭra (or Eastern District). The village has been identified with Pamgarh in the Bilaspur District. The territory of Pūrvarāṣṭra lay to the east of the range of mountains, identified by Cunningham with the Mekala, which commences near the Amarkantaka and comes to an end about 60 miles south-east of Rajim.[7]

Paṇḍaratalāi

The Bilaigarh plates of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896)[8] refer to the grant of the village of Paṇḍaratalāi, which may be

1. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 170.
2. *Loc. cit.*, *I.C.P.B.*, p. 106.
3. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 45.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 24.
5. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 597.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 191 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 192 note.
8. *C.I.I.* vol. IV, No. 89.

identical with that mentioned in the Sheorinarayan inscription of Kalacuri 919, where Āmaṇadeva, the scion of a collateral branch of the Kalacuri family, made some benefactions. There are several villages of the name Pendri or Pendria in Chhattisgarh; but the one nearest to Bilaigarh and Sheorinarayan, according to Mirashi, lies about 7 miles north-west of the latter place.[1]

Pajaṇī

It is mentioned in the Sheorinarayan inscription of Jājalladeva II (Kalacuri 919) and identified with Pachari, 6 miles from east of Sheorinarayan.[2]

Patharia

It occurs in the Sheorinarayan inscription of Kalacuri 919. Patharia still retains its name and is situated 6 miles south-by-east of Mungeli in the district of Bilaspur.[3]

Pendaragrāma

It is mentioned in the Pujaripali stone inscription of Gopāladeva, and is identical with Pendri, about 8 miles east of Sarangarh.[4]

Poṇḍi

Poṇḍi is one of the donated villages mentioned in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II and is identified with a village of the same name lying 4 miles to the north-west of Bilahri.[5]

Prastaravāṭaka

This is one of the granted villages referred to in the Betul plates of Saṁkṣobha. It is situated in the province of Tripurī, and identified with Patpara (a deserted village) near Bilahri in the district of Jabalpur.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 579 ff.
5. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. IX, p. 104.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, pp. 284 ff.

Rājapura

The grant of the village of Rājapura was recorded in the Mandava-mahal inscription at Chaura.[1] Hiralal identifies it with a village of the same name three miles from Chaura near the Kawardha Tahsil in the district of Raipur.[2]

We find another small village named Rājapura occurring in the Rajapur plates of Madhurāntakadeva.[3] This Rājapura belonged to the Bhramarakoṭya-maṇḍala which appears to be an alternative name of Cakrakoṭya-maṇḍala[4] identified with the Central portion of the Bastar District. The grant of Rājapura, the village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur in the district of Bastar, was possibly meant as the compensation for supplying victims for human sacrifice.[5] King Madhurāntakadeva seems to have been mentioned in the Kuruspal stone inscription of Someśvaradeva as one of the vanquished kings of Someśvaradeva.[6]

Sajjahali

This is referred to in the Bilahri stone inscription of Yuvarāja II. Mirashi identifies it with Sajhara in the Murwara Tahsil.[7]

Śālmalīya

From the Rajim stone inscription of the time of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 896),[8] we learn that the village of Śālmalīya which was assigned for the *naivedya* of the deity worshipped in the Rājīvalocana temple, was deserted and a new village named Rohanā, situated not far from the ancient site of Śālmalīya was subsequently granted. According to Mirashi it lies 10 miles south-east of Rajim in the Maha Samund Tahsil and is still appropriated to the worship of Rajīvalocana.[9]

Samudrapāṭa

Samudrapāṭa alluded to in the Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha, is, according to Mirashi identified with Samand Pipatia, about 4 miles south of Jabalpur.[10]

1. *I.C.P.B.*, pp.174 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 174 ff.; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 163-64.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*, *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
5. *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*, *I.C.P.B.*, *loc. cit.*
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pp. 25ff.
7. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 88; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff.
9. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

Sārasadollaka

This is mentioned in the Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalladeva II. It was identified by R.D. Banerjee with modern Sahdol.[1] But as it is far away from Gurgi, Mirashi takes it to be the present Sarsi, a village 2 miles south of the Śoṇa and 34 miles south-by-west of Chandrehe.[2]

Satājunā

The Mandhata plates of Devapāla[3] record the grant of the village of Satājunā in the Mahuaḍa-pratijāgaraṇaka. Satājunā still retains its name and is situated about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā. Mahuaḍa, the headquarters of the Pargana of the same name, is probably Mohod, about 25 miles south of Satājunā.

Seṇāḍu

This village is mentioned in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933) and identified with Sonada, 15 miles to the east of Kharod in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of Raipur District.[4] There is a mediaeval temple of Viṣṇu in this village.[5]

Sikhā

The Tewar inscription of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 928)[6] mentions the village called Sikhā in the territorial division of Mālavaka. Sikhā is most probably the village of that name which lies about 4 miles north-west of Jabalpur, although Mālavaka cannot be identified.

Sirulī (or, Siralā)

Sirulī is mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva I (Kalacuri 866).[7] The village which was dona-

1. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1920-21, pp. 51ff.
2. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 46, p. 227.
3. *D.L.I.C.P.B.*, pp. 63-64.
4. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 77.

ted to the temple in Jājallapura, is probably represented by Sirli, about 8 miles south-west of Junjgir. It seems to us that Siruli is the same as Siralā mentioned in Bilaigarh plates of Pratāpamalla (Kalacuri 969), although Mirashi[1] takes Siralā to the Pauni, 2 miles south of Kaita i.e., the old Kāyaṭha village mentioned in the Pendrabandh plates of Pratāpamalla.

Soṇṭhiva

The Sheorinarayan inscription of Jājalladeva II (Kalacuri 919) refers to the village of Soṇṭhiva which has been identified with modern Sonthi in the Bilaspur Tahsil, 11 miles north of Akaltara.[2]

Śrī-sāhikā

The Raipur plates of Mahāsudevarāja[3] mentions a village named Śri-sāhikā, situated in the Pūrvarāṣṭra. The village has been identified with Sirsahi in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District.[4]

Tekabhara

The village of Tekabhara which is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 926)[5] may be identified with Tikhari, about 5 miles south-west of Jabalpur. It was situated in the *Viṣaya* (district) of Navapattalā comprising the territory round modern Nayakhera, 8 miles west of Tikhari.

Ṭemarā

According to the Temara Sati stone inscription of v.s. 1246, Temarā belonging to the Sairaṭharājarājya (i.e. kingdom of Sairaṭharāja) was in the Cakrakūṭa province (in the Bastar District).[6] From the Kuruspal tank inscription also it appears to be situated near Kuruspal, 22 miles from Jagdalpur in the District of Bastar.[7]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 546 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
3. *C.I.I.*, vol. III, pp. 196 ff.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 106.
5. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 64.
6. *EP. Ind., Vol. x. pp* 39-40.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 162-3.

Tipuruga

It is referred to in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933), and identified with Tiprung, 10 miles south of Kharod, in the former Katgi Zamindari (now in the district of Bilaspur).[1]

Tivarakheṭa

The charter of Nannarāja records the grant of lands in the village of Tivarakheta which stood on the bank of Ambeviarakanadī.[2] Tivarakheṭa is identified with Tiwarkhed where the charter was found and which is a village 14 miles from Multai in the district of Betul.[3] The Amberiaraka river may be the same as the Ambhora.

Toḍāṅkana

This is one of the villages which were granted for the maintenance of the temple mentioned in the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple stone inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta, and is probably identified with Turenga near Kulapadar, 15 miles south-east of Sirpur.[4]

Uluvā

This village is the same as Ulba in the district of Raipur and mentioned in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933).[5]

Vaḍala

This occurs in the Paragaon plates of Ratnadeva II, and is identified with Baluda, 27 miles south-by-east of Paragoan in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil in the Raipur District.[6]

Vādyava-grāma

This village is mentioned in the Lal-Pahad rock inscription of Narasiṁha (Kalacuri 909). Mirashi thinks that the village

1. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, p 536.
2. *Ep Ind.*, vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 104.
5. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, p. 536.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 624.

was probably situated in the vicinity of Lal-Pahad.[1] Earlier, Cunningham suggested that Vādyava-grāma might have been the original name of Bharhut which is close to Lal-Pahad.[2]

Vaṇāri

It is mentioned in the Sheorinarayan inscription of Jājalladeva II (Kalacuri 919) and identified with the modern village of Banari near Janjgir in the district of Bilaspur.[3]

Vaṇṇigaon

One Sati inscription (v.s. 1385)[4] mentions the village of Vaṇṇigaon, which has been identified with modern Bangaon from where the inscription was discovered. Bangaon is situated about 13 miles from Damoh.

Vargullaka

According to the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta[5] the village of Vargullaka was specially set apart to meet the expenses of daily offerings to the god. It is probably identical with the village of Gulla, about 10 miles south-west of Sirpur and 5 miles from Arang in the Raipur District.

Vasahā

It is a donated village mentioned in the Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I (Kalacuri 831),[6] and has been identified with Basaha, about 12 miles north-east of Bilaspur. The name of the *maṇḍala* in which it was situated, cannot be read with certainty. Hiralal reads it as Yuvāparamaṇḍala, while Mirashi considers it to be Apara-maṇḍala.[7]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
2. *A.S.R.*, vol. IX, p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
4. *D.L.I.C.P.B.*, pp. 51-52; in the second edition Hiralal just gives a reference to this inscription (cf. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 61).
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 88 ff.
6. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 76.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 404.

Vaṭapallikā

Vaṭapallikā was a village in the district of Donda, as the names occur in the Arang plates of Bhīmasena,[1] according to which the village was given to two Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇas. Hiralal[2] identifies the village with one of the many villages called Badapali or Barapali in the Chhattisgarh region, the nearest Barapali being 30 miles east of Arang and about 50 miles east of Doṇḍā (modern Dunda). It was included in the former Kaudia Zamindari on the side of the Mahānadī.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 96.

Ābhīrapallī

It is mentioned in an inscription discovered from Gurgi, about 12 miles east of Rewa, but is not identified.[1]

Adhakāḍa

It is referred to in the Sunarpal inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva.[2] Sunarpal is in the Bastar District, but the village granted cannot be traced.

Ahaḍāpāḍa

The Rewa plate of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 926)[3] records the grant of a village Ahaḍāpāḍa in the Khaṇḍagahā-pattala. Khaṇḍagahā, the headquarters of the *Pattalā* is perhaps identical with Kandaihli, about 6 miles west-by-south of Kakrchi (81°12′E. and 24°55′N.). But the village cannot be located.

Akharaud

We find the name of this village in the Jabalpur plate of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 918).[4] It is not traceable.

Araṅgā

It is mentioned in the Kuruspal stone inscription of Someśvaradeva[5] in connection with defining the boundary of a donated village whose name could not be made out. The village was apparently situated near the Indranadī (i.e. the Indravati river) in the district of Bastar, but cannot be identified.

Avaḍaha

This is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 926),[6] but no place exactly corresponding to it can be traced in the Jabalpur District.

1. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 46.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 163; vol. X, pp. 35-36.
3. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 65, p. 341.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 63, pp. 326-27.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pp.25 ff.
6. *C.I.I.*, *op.cit.*, p.333.

Bhaddhachiurā

It is mentioned in an inscription from Gurgi, but cannot be located.[1]

Bhīma

The grant of the village of Bhīma is recorded in the Mandhata copper plate of Jayasiṁha of Dhārā.[2] It was situated in the Pūrṇapathaka-maṇḍala and meant for the Brāhmaṇas of Pattasala at the holy Amareśvara, near Mandhata. The donated village and the maṇḍala have not been identified.

Bilvapadraka

From the Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva,[3] we learn that a rest-house was established at Bilvapadraka at the request of Tīvaradeva's son-in-law, Nannarāja. The village is, however, not traceable at present.

Borigāma

The Donatewara inscription of Śaka 984[4] records the grant of a village called Borigāma to the god Bhairava. The village seems to have been situated near Dattavāḍā (Dantewara), headquarters of the present Dantewara Tahsil, although it cannot be identified.

Carauya

This is mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (Kalacuri 915), but it cannot be traced.[5]

Chandā-pallikā

The Karitalai inscription[6] records the grant of this village which was situated in the Nāgadeya-Santaka by Mahārāja Jayanātha of the Uccakalpa family. The Nāgadeya-Santaka may be identified with Nagod, as proposed by Cunningham, although Fleet[7] objects to it. According to Hiralal, Nāgadeya

1. *Ibid.*, No. 46.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 74.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.
4. *I.C.P.B.*,p. 165.
5. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
6. *A.S. R.*, vol. IX, p. 12.
7. *C.I.I.*, vol. *III*, pp. 117 ff.

is a Sanskritised form of Nagaudh, meaning "a cobra water or pond".[1] The village of Chandā-pallikā, however, is not traceable.

Coralāyī

The Kumbhi inscription[2] records the grant of a village named Caralayi in the Sambalā-pattalā by the queen-mother Gosaladevī after bathing in the Narmadā. Neither the village nor the pattalā are traceable in Jabalpur District, although Mirashi thinks of Chaorai, a village about 20 miles south-west of Jabalpur.[3]

Dāruvana

It occurs in a fragmentary stone inscription from Kadwaha, but remains untraceable.[4]

Ghāṭauṣaristhāna

This is mentioned in the Mandhata plates of Jayavarman II, but has not been traced.[5]

Goṭhālī

This village is mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II, but is not identified.[6]

Kāpālika

This occurs in the Kuruspal stone inscription of Someśvaradeva[7] in connection with defining the limits of a granted village whose name could not be found. The village was most probably situated near the Indranadī (i.e. the Indravatī river) in the Bastar District, but cannot be identified at present.

Karañjā

One Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva[8] records the grant of a village named Karañjā situated on the bank of the Narmadā

1. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 23.
2. *J.B.A.S.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 111 ff.
3. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, p. 646.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 117 ff.
5. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 76-7.
6. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
8. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

in the Jauli-pattalā (identified with the Jabalpur District). But the village has not been traced.

Khaṭollikā

This village mentioned in an inscription found from Gurgi cannot be identified.[1]

Kukkuḍiyā

This occurs in the Gurgi inscription, but cannot be located.[2]

Kumbhadaṇḍagrāma

The Mandhata plates of Paramāra Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman (v.s. 1331) refers to this village which remains untraceable.[3]

Kumbhīpurī

According to an inscription found at Chaura,[4] about 11 miles from Kawardha, Kumbhīpurī was given to a Brāhmaṇa as an *agrahāra*. It is not traceable.

Kusumbā.

An inscription from Gurgi mentions this village which is not identified.[5]

Menkiḍḍaka

The Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva[6] informs us of the grant of the village of Menkiḍḍaka, situated in the district of Sundarikāmārga. Tīvaradeva who belonged to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa, established himself firmly in the Chhattisgarh region. The identification of Menkiḍḍaka and Sundarikā-mārga is, however, uncertain.

Nālīapadra

It was granted along with others to meet the expenses in connection with the maintenance of the temple mentioned in the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription of Mahāśivagupta.[7] It remains unidentified.

1. *Ibid.*, No. 46.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 147.
4. Cf. Mandava-mahal inscription at Chaura, *D.L.I.C.P.B.*, pp. 162 ff.
5. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 46.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.
7. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 104.

Nāmauṇḍī

The Bheraghat inscription[1] records the grant of this village by the queen Alhaṇadevī of the Kalacuri dynasty. The village was in the Jaulipattalā. Though the village is now untraceable, the Jaulipattalā which is also mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva must have comprised the country around Jabalpur.

Nāsapuṇḍikā

This occurs in an inscription found at Gurgi, but cannot be identified.[2]

Pātiṅkar

This village was granted in the reign period of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty, as it is recorded in a Jabalpur inscription.[3] The village Pātiṅkar was situated in the district of Jaulipatam (Jabalpur), but it cannot be identified now.

Pimparipadraka

The Rajim plates of Tīvaradeva[4] record the grant of a village called Pimparipadraka belonging to the Penthama-bhukti. But neither the village nor the *bhukti* in which it was situated can be traced now.

Pipalāhika

The village of Pipalāhika mentioned in the Ajayagarh rock inscription of Kīrttivarman, cannot be identified.[5]

Poṇḍika

The name of this village has been found in an inscription from Gurgi; but the village remains untraceable.[6]

Rajogrāma

It is mentioned in a record found from Gurgi and not identified.[7]

1. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 60.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 46.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 1ff.
4. *C.I.I.*, vol. III, pp. 291 ff., *I.C.P.B.*, p. 97.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 87-89.
6. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 46.
7. *Loc. cit.*

Rajyaudha

It occurs in a Gurgi record; but it cannot be identified.[1]

Sāmanta-pāṭaka

It is a village, which is mentioned in a Gurgi inscription, but not identified.[2]

Sāmbā

The Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II (v.s. 1207) mentions the village of Sāmbā, where the temple of Śiva was erected.[3] It remains unidentified.

Sarasvatī

The village of Sarasvatī finds mention in a record found from Gurgi, but remains untraceable. Mirashi suggests that it may also be a name of an unknown river.[4]

Siṁhapurī

The Tewar fragmentary inscription gives the name of a village called Siṁhapurī. There are several villages of that name, so it is difficult to identify it.[5]

Susiddhārthaka

This village is mentioned in an inscription discovered from Gurgi; but its identity is uncertain.[6]

Talapauha

It is referred to in the Mandhata plates of v.s. 1331; but its locality is uncertain.[7]

Takārī

The Mandhata plates of v.s. 1331 mentions the village of Takārī, which is not identified.[8]

Teṇī

This is alluded to in the Mandhata plates of Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman; but it is not traceable.[9]

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 485.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 46.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, p. 85.
6. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 46.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 147.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Loc. cit.*

Tilakeśvara

The Kurud plates of Narendra (year 24) says that the temporary camp of the king was erected in the village of Tilakeśvara which remains untraceable.[1]

Usuvā

This village mentioned in the Kharod inscription of Kalacuri year 933, but it cannot be identified now.[2]

Vālauda-grāma

This village is mentioned in the Mandhata plates of Paramāra Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman (v.s. 1331).[3] It is not identified.

Vaghāḍī-grāma

The Vaghāḍī-grāma mentioned in the Mandhata plates of v.s. 1331 remains untraceable.[4]

Vakkadollaka

It appears in an inscription discovered from Gurgi, about 12 miles east of Rewa; but it cannot be located.[5]

Vāṇapadra

This village along with others was granted to meet the expenses in connection with the maintenance of a temple mentioned in the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription of Mahāśivagupta.[6] It has not been traced.

Viḍaha

This village finds mention in the Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (Kalacuri 926),[7] but no place corresponding to it can be found in the district of Jabalpur.

1. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII, p. 82.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 147.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, No. 46.
6. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 104.
7. *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

ROUTES

It has been rightly remarked by one scholar that the lines of communication develop on the basis of relations between and the interdependence of the various centres of human activity.[1] The socio-economic conditions existing in different periods of Indian history also sometimes influenced the geographical pattern of the *Janapadas*, the cities and towns and the routes. It is said that on land and in the air our modern transport follows the prehistoric tracks.[2] This is true with regard to the routes passing through mountainous areas which have remained almost unchanged through the vicissitudes of time. For in a mountainous region, new routes are extremely difficult to develop. But that is not the case on the plains where the routes usually undergo frequent changes.

The oldest routes seem to be land-routes, and these include both routes on terra firma and inland waters.[3] Again "the valleys of rivers and their tributaries admit of two types of route: those provided by the waterway itself and those utilising the low banks."[4]

From the very dawn of civilisation, the importance of good roads was well understood. Thus in the *Ṛgveda* prayers are offered to the gods[5] "to give broad paths to travel,"—path that should be straight in direction and thornless.[6] The network of land routes in Madhya Pradesh can be traced from ancient times. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* give us sufficient indication about the existence of the pathways leading to the various kingdoms into which Madhya Pradesh was divided in those days. From the earliest Pali books we have accounts of the journeys of the wandering teachers passing through the various important cities of the time.

1. Y. M. Goblet, *Political Geography and the World Map*, p. 121.
2. *Ṛgveda*, vii, 35, 15.
3. *Ibid.*, X, 85, 23; *The Vedic Age* (ed. Majumdar & Pusalkar) p. 399.
4. Y. M. Goblet, *loc. cit.*
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Loc. cit.*

With the development of the Mauryan empire, we notice roads connecting both ends of India. From the *Arthaśāstra*,[1] we come across the existence of various types of roads, such as chariot roads, royal roads, and roads leading to *droṇa-mukhas*, country parts and pasturing grounds, each of which is four *daṇḍas* (24 ft.) in width. Again both in the *Arthaśāstra*[2] and in the accounts of Arrian,[3] we have the reference to 'royal roads' (Skt. *rājamārga*), which may denote either the roads earmarked for the royal personages and their retinue, or the main thoroughfare, equivalent to modern National Highway, maintained directly or indirectly by the centre.

Speaking about the Mauryas, Strabo says that 'they construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances'.[4] This was, however, possible only in a highly civilised society, and even then, it is not to be expected that all the roads in the remote provinces could have been cared for so meticulously.

While Aśoka was obsessed with the idea of introducing measures for the welfare of the State, the problem of improvement of roads also came up into his mind. According to Rock Edict II, wells were excavated and trees were planted on the road sides for the use of both men and animals.[5] Again, in Pillar Edict VII, he says more clearly that banyan trees were planted on the roads for giving shade to men and animals, and that wells were dug and rest houses built at a distance of eight *krośas* and mango-gardens too were planted.[6]

A late work like the *Śukranītisāra*[7] has put forward certain suggestions regarding the construction of roads. But it may be pointed out that we are still in the dark as to the materials used for the work.

1. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 4.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Indika* (Arrian), II, 1, 7.
4. XV, I.
5. Cf. *panthesu kūpā ca Khānāpitā var(Vra)chā ca ropāpitā paribhogāya pasu-manuṣānam // Sel. Ins.*, p. 17.
6. Cf. *magesu pi me nigohāni lopāpitāni chāyopagāni hosaṁti pasu-munisānam aṁbā-vaḍikyā lopāpitā* (1) *Aḍha* (*Kosi*) *kyāni pi me udupānāni khānāpitāni etc., Sel. Ins.*, p. 68.
7. Ch. I, pp. 34-35 (Tr. B. K. Sarkar, Allahabad, 1914).

Medhātithi refers to the Vaiśyas as carrying on inter-State trade. He advises that a Vaiśya should know the regions where rice (*vrīhi*) and barley supplies are plenty, the nature of the people, and also the languages of Mālava, Magadha and other countries, i.e. in such a country this word is employed to denote this thing.[1] The *Kuvalayamālākathā* refers to merchants of the different States of north and south meeting together.[2]

The commercial and trade relations between the different States are to be viewed in the perspective of the cultural intercourse between them. The values of travelling have been emphatically brought out by the *Kuṭṭanīmata*.[3] From the land-grants it appears that learned Brāhmaṇas used to travel the distant places, e.g. from Madhyadeśa to Bengal, Mālava, Dakṣiṇakośala, Orissa and many other countries.[4] The career of the famous poet Bilhaṇa is also an instance in point. From Kashmir he went to Mathurā and then passing through Kanauj and Prayāga, reached Banaras; and staying at the court of Kalacuri Karṇa for some time he went to Dhārā, Aṇahilvāḍa and other places.[5] Ultimately he enjoyed the patronage of the Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI at Kalyāṇa.[6]

The merchants who participated in the inter-State trade generally travelled in groups. Viśvarūpa explains *nigama*[7] (guild of merchants) as a group of caravan traders and others. The caravans were regarded as a safe protection against the robbers infesting the highways.

In some texts we have several terms for a carriage street, a small street, a high street and a high road. In Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*[8] we get *rathyā* (a carriage street), *laghurathyā* (a

1. Medhātithi's commentary on Manu (*Manubhāṣya*, ed. G. Jha), IX pp. 331-32.
2. See *Apabhraṁśa-Kāvyatrayī* (G.O.S.), introduction, p. 91.
3. *Kuṭṭanīmata* (ed. M. Kaul, Calcutta, 1944), v. 211.
4. L. Gopal, *The Economic life of Northern India*, 1965, p. 92.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. Cf. *Sārthavāhādisamūho naigamaḥ*, Viśvarūpa's commentary (*Bālakrīḍa*) on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (ed. T. Ganapati Sastri), II, p. 192.
8. *Deśīnāmamālā* (ed. R. Pischel; 2nd ed. by Ramanujaswami), III, 31; iv, 8; vi, 39; vii, 55; viii, 6.

small carriage street), etc., although the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*[1] of Halāyudha mentions them in connection with a city. The *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*[2] of Bhoja also mentions different types of road in its chapter on the layout of a city. The villages, however, do not appear to have well-planned streets like those in a city; but they were most probably connected with the high roads.[3] But the conditions of the roads are far from satisfactory, particularly in the rainy season when the roads became often impassable as it apperas from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita*.[4] We have references to public supplies of water on the road side.[5] The *Tilakamañjarī*[6] describes a water reservoir for the use of travellers on the outskirts of a city. In the *Samayamātṛka*,[7] we find a woman who kept an inn (*pānthavasathapālikā*). The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*[8] states that the conscientious kings maintained charitable houses (*sattrāgāra*) for the travellers coming from other parts.

In the points of Northern India, rivers were often a better and safer means of travelling and of transporting merchandise than roads. But the rivers in the greater part of Madhya Pradesh are not navigable in the major part of the year, so that travelling through the rivers was not popular with the people.

It appears that to the south of the Vindhyas, there were many Brāhmaṇa ascetics who resided in hermitages at different places before Rāma entered Daṇḍakāraṇya. In fact, both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* preserve the tradition that the Brāhmaṇa sage Agastya first crossed the Vindhya range and led the way to Aryan immigration to the south.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* traces the routes of Rāmacandra's sojourn in various regions at the time of his exile. The epic describes how

1. *Abhidhāna* (ed. Jayasankara Josi), v. 289.
2. *Samarāṅgaṇa*° (ed. T. Ganapati Sastri), I, p. 39, vs. 6-14.
3. The highways are mentioned in many inscriptions; Cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 158 ff.
4. *Triṣaṣṭi*° (Tr. H. M. Johnson in 4 volumes), vol. I, pp. 7 ff.
5. *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, V, p. 22; *Deśināmamālā*, VIII, 21.
6. *Tilakamañjarīkathā* of Dhanapāla, Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1903, p. 47.
7. *Samayamātṛkā* of Kṣemendra (ed. Durga Prasad & K. P. Parab), II, 3.
8. *Prabandha*. (Tr. C. H. Tawney, 1901), p. 106, II, 4-7.

far Rāmacandra was able to use his chariot on the way after his exit from the home town, and when he had to abandon the same and to go on foot owing to the absence of suitable road. It seems that from a place known as Śṛṅgaverapura, 22 miles from Prayāga (U.P.) on the bank of the Ganges, he bade goodbye to his charioteer.[1] Before entering into the famous Daṇḍakāranya, Rāmacandra visited the hermitage of Bharadvāja, near Prayāga, (U.P.)[2] and retired to the Citrakūṭa hill in the forest region where he stayed for some time.

Bharadvāja told Rāma that the Citrakūṭa was 3 *yojanas* distant;[3] but he gave Bharata clear directions afterwards how to find Rāma there. He said, "$2\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas* distant, in an uninhabited forest, is the Citrakūṭa", and "go by the south road southward, bending towards your right side".[4] So the hill lay to the south-west of Prayāga and is generally identified with the range of hills which contain the well known hill of that name, the modern Citrakūṭa. This hill is about 65 miles west-south-west of Prayāga, and according to Pargiter Citrakūṭa would be the range of hills stretching from the river Ken to 20 miles to Allahabad.[5]

It is thus clear that there were paths or tracks through these forests and Rāma used to receive directions frequently how to go from one place to another, and followed the road (*pathin* and *mārga*) in his travels.[6] 'The ascetics and the forest tribes would need and make routes from place to place to avoid being bewildered and lost among the endless mazes of trees, where the eye alone would be of little service.'[7]

From the Citrakūṭa Rāma went to Atri's hermitage,[8] and next reached Śarabhaṇga's hermitage[2], which was possibly

1. *Rām.*, (ed. Gorresio), I, 31.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 54, 1-8.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 54, 29-30.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 101, 11 and 15.
5. Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 231 ff. The identification of the Citrakūṭa has already been discussed in the chapter dealing with the mountains.
6. Cf. *Rām.* (ed. Gorresio), II, 101, 15; III, 76, 2; 77, 2, IV, 13, 7.
7. Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 244.
8. *Rām.* (ed. Gorresio), III, 2.
9. *Ibid.*, III, 9.

'a sort of central resort for ascetics.' Pargiter who locates the hermitage of Śarabhaṇga 'somewhere near Narwar on the northern slope of the Vindhya', places Atri's hermitage in between that spot and the Citrakūṭa.[1]

Afterwards, travelling a long way, Rāma crossed the river Mahā-javā, possibly the upper part of the Narmadā, between Sohagpur and Narsingpur,[2] and noticed a vast blue forest on a hill, which has been identified with the wide plateau of Panchmarhi and Seoni, the Mahādeva hills.[3] Entering this forest Rāma arrived at the Ṛṣi Sutīkṣṇa's hermitage, possibly near the source of the river Veṇvā (Wainganga) as suggested by Pargiter.[4] According to the *Rāmopākhyāna* the forest of Daṇḍaka, also known as Krauñcālaya, stretches from Śarabhaṇga's hermitage to the Godāvarī, or in other words, it comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand down to the river Kṛṣṇā.[5]

At a later period, as we learn from the *Raghuvaṁśa*,[6] the two sons of Rāmacandra, viz., Lava and Kuśa ruled from Śarāvatī-nagarī (Śrāvati[7] or Śrāvastī)[8] and Kuśāvatī—the capitals of Uttara Kośala and Dakṣiṇa Kośala respectively. Kuśāvatī lay in a territory to the south of the Vindhyas,[9] possibly in the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region which was called Kośala at least before the middle of the fourth century when Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* was composed.[10] We can thus very well postulate the existence of good communication connecting these two important cities of the time.

The *Mahābhārata* deals with the routes of ancient Madhya Pradesh on at least three different occasions; once during Bhīma's conquests of the eastern quarter and another during Sahadeva's conquests of southern quarter, and again in the *Nalopākhyāna*.

1. Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*
2. *Loc. cit.*, for the reference to the Mahā-javā, see *Rām.* (ed. Gorressio), III, 2.
3. Cf. *Rām.*, *loc. cit.*, and Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*
4. *J.R.A.S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 231 ff.
6. *Raghu.*, XV, 97.
7. *Rām.* (ed. Gorressio), VII, CXIII, 24.
8. *Ibid.*, (Bombay edition), VII, CVIII, 5; and (Calcutta edition), VII, CXXI, 4.
9. *Raghu*, XVI, 31 ff.
10. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 212 note.

The routes followed by Bhīma and Sahadeva in connection with the conquests of eastern and southern quarters respectively cannot be determined properly. The kingdoms mentioned in these contexts have been put in such a haphazard manner that no particular route seems to have been followed. Below we discuss briefly the conquests of kingdoms mainly situated in Madhya Pradesh. Emerging from Hastināpura of the Kuru realm, Bhīma[1] after conquering a few kingdoms on the way ultimately occupied the Daśārṇa country. Afterwards he began to move eastwards and accepted the allegiance of the king of Cedi.

Sahadeva[2] similarly marched towards the south and conquered the regions like Mathurā (now in U.P.), Matsya (now in U.P.), Niṣāda-territory, (perhaps the Narwar region, M.P.), the kingdom of Kuntibhoja, etc. Next advancing to the south by following the route lying by the side of the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal) river, and later on towards the Narmadā, he conquered Avanti and went to Bhoja-kaṭapura. Afterwards he defeated the king of Kośala and also the rulers of the forest kingdoms. Next he conquered various kingdoms, mostly outside Madhya Pradesh, including those of the far south, and came back once again within the boundary of Madhya Pradesh and after crossing the river Kāverī captured the powerful city of Māhiṣmatī, and next took possession of Tripurī for both of these cities so long remained unconquered.

The *Nalopākhyāna*[3] supplies us with more specific information as to the existence of different routes leading to the different kingdoms. From a forest on the outskirts of the Niṣāda kingdom King Nala points out to his consort various routes, one of which ran towards the south after crossing the Avanti country and the Ṛkṣa mountain, another towards the Vidarbha (i.e.

1. *Mbh.*, II, 24, 28, 29.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 30.
3. Cf. *ete gacchanti bahavaḥ panthāno Dakṣiṇāpatham,*
Avantīṁ Ṛkṣavantaṁca samatikramya parvatam.
(*Mbh.*, III, 61, 21)
eṣa Vindhyo mahā-śailaḥ Payoṣṇī ca samudragā.../ Mbh. III, 61, 22
eṣa panthā Vidarbhāṇām asau gacchati Kośalān/ (*Mbh.*, III, 61, 23)

Berar) territory, and the third in the direction of the Kośala *janapada* (i.e. Dakṣiṇa-Kośala).

From the *Pārāyana* incorporated in the Pali *Suttanipāta*,[1] one of the most ancient Buddhist works, we learn that the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari after emigrating from the charming city of the Kośalas settled in the Assaka country (near Muḷaka) on the Godāvarī. Bāvari is said to have sent his disciples in a mission to the Buddha at Śrāvastī of the Kośalas. The steps in their route have been summed up in three verses (1011-1013) : "Patitthana of Muḷaka; then the city of Māhissatī; also Ujjenī and Gonaddha; Vedisā; Vana-Savhaya; Kosambī; and also Sāketa; and the big city of Śāvatthi, etc." Thus the route depicted here runs from south to the north and among the halting places mentioned Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī), Ujjenī (Ujjayinī), Gonaddha (Gonarda), Vedisā (Vidiśā) and Vanasavhaya (Tumbavana-nagara or Tumain in the Guna District) are situated in Madhya Pradesh.[2] The catalogue of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*[3] follows an identical order when it observes that "at Avanti (i.e. Ujjayinī) the Yakṣa is Priyadarśana, at Gonardana (i.e. Gonarda) Śikhaṇḍin, at Vaidiśa (i.e. Vidiśā) Añjalipriya."

Māhiṣmatī appears in the itinerary of the *Pārāyaṇa* as an intermediate step between Muḷaka-Pratiṣṭhāna and Ujjayinī. Similarly the Mahābhāṣya[4] says: *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyāṁ Sūryam udgamayati.*

According to the statement of Buddhaghoṣa in his *Paramatthajotikā*,[5] Tumbavana (i.e. modern Tumain) would be a step between Vidiśā (modern Besnagar) and Kauśāmbī (Kosam, near Allahabad, U.P.), on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda

1. *Suttanipāta*, vs. 1011-1013; its two ancient commentaries are *Mahāniddesa* and *Cullaniddesa*.
2. For the identification of the place names see 'Gonarda' in *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 206 ff.
3. *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, I, p. 43, v. 19.
4. On Pāṇini, III, I, 26.
5. The *Paramatthajotikā* is Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the *Suttanipāta*. Cf. *The Suttanipāta* (ed. Anderson-Smith), p. 194. See *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 213-214.

towards the Jamuna. The *Mahābodhivaṁśa*[1] avers that Vidiśā is 50 leagues from Pāṭaliputra.

It may be mentioned here that five inscriptions[2] have been discovered from the *stūpa* of Sāñcī (23°29′ N., 77°49′ E.); and these inscriptions commemorate the donations made by the people of various localities like Tumbavana, Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. Thus it appears that the routes leading to the *stūpa* of Sāñcī from all these cities were extant from a very early time. Again, the name of Kākanāda (i.e. Sāñcī) became well known from ancient time also as a chief centre of commerce on the main route from the city of Pāṭaliputra to Bhṛgukaccha (or, Bharukaccha).[3]

Cunningham[4] identifies Besnagar with the city of Vessanagara, at which Aśoka halted for some time when on his way from Pāṭaliputra to assume the government of Ujjayinī. Vessanagara is the name given by Buddhaghoṣa,[5] but the author of the *Mahāvaṁsa*[6] in relating the same story, calls the place Cetiyagiri. As this name implies 'the Caitya hill', it is likely, as some think, that it refers to the *stūpa* of Sāñcī, from where one inscription of Aśoka has been discovered.[7]

In ancient times the Cedi *mahājanapada* corresponded roughly to the eastern part of modern Rewa Division and some adjoining tracts.[8] From the *Vedabbha Jātaka*[9] we know that the road from Kāśī to Cedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders. The capital of Cedi was the city of Śuktimatī. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa*[10] represents a chief named Jyāmagha as crossing the Ṛkṣa on his way from Narmadānūpa[11] to Śuktimatī which lay to the north in the direction of the Jamuna.

1. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 20.
2. Lüders' List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.
3. H. Pannatissa Thero, *Sanchi*, Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon p.5.
4. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*,p. 95; *A.S.R.*, vol. X, p. 37.
5. Turnour, Pali Annals in *J.B.A.S.*, VII, p. 930.
6. *Mahāvaṁsa* (Pali Text Society), p. 76.
7. *A.S.R.*, vol. X, *loc. cit.*, H. Pannatissa Thero, *op. cit.*, p. 2, cf. Sāñcī Pillar Edict of Asoka, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 71.
8. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 120.
9. No. 48.
10. *Vāyu*, 95, 31.
11. District on the Narmadā of which Māhiṣmatī was the capital, cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 37-43.

It is said that at the request of Pradyota, king of Avanti, Bimbisāra sent Jīvaka Kaumārabhṛtya,[1] the celebrated physician at the Magadhan court to Ujjayinī. Jīvaka succeeded in curing the Avanti monarch, and he came back to Magadha. This shows that the road connecting the Magadhan capital and Ujjayinī was often used by the people.

Ujjayinī, a great centre of trade and commerce, laid at a junction of at least three main trade-routes, one coming from the western coast with its sea ports, Surparaka (Supara) and Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), another from the Deccan and the third from Śrāvastī in Kośala (Oudh).[2] We learn from the *Periplus*[3] *of the Erythrean Sea* that from Ozene (i.e. Ujjayinī) commodities were brought down to Barygaza (i.e. Bhṛgukaccha or Broach).

From Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* it appears that in course of his victorious campaigns Samudragupta conquered most of the countries of Āryāvartta. Airikiṇa (i.e. Eran in East Malwa) became an integral part of the empire.[4] But he left the conquest of West Malwa for his successor Candragupta II. The Udayagiri cave inscription[5] of Candragupta II (dated 401 A.D.) informs us that Vīrasenaśāba, the king's minister for peace and war, came to East Malwa from Pāṭaliputra, accompanied by king Candragupta II with a view to conquering West Malwa. East Malwa at or near Vidiśā became the base of operations against the Śakas of West Malwa.[6] H. C. Raychaudhuri is of opinion that from 402 A.D. Candragupta II seems to have had a residence in Malwa, at first possibly at Vidiśā and later on, after his Western conquests, at Ujjayinī.[7]

The above accounts make it abundantly clear that there were well maintained highways running from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā, Ujjayinī, Airikiṇa and other cities of Madhya Pradesh during the Gupta period.

1. *D.P.P.N.*, Vol. I, s.v. Caṇḍa-Pajjota and Jīvaka-Komarabhacca.
2. Rapson, *Ancient India*, 1960, p. 90.
3. The *Periplus*, Sec. 48; Cf. B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-India Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 144.
4. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 270.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 279 ff.
6. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 555.
7. *Loc. cit.*

Regarding the exact route followed by Samudragupta at the time of South Indian conquests we do not have any distinct idea. R. K. Mookherjee, however, observes that "leaving the Jamna (Jamuna) valley, Samudragupta must have marched through the modern Rewa State and Jabalpur District and came up before his first object of attack, the kingdom of Kośala".[1] P. Achraya holds that the Kalinga Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli testifies the existence of a route running towards the west through the Mahānadī Valley, which was followed by Samudragupta in his South Indian conquests, and by the Somavaṁśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala and many others in later period like Hoshang Shāh of Malwa in the fifteenth century and the Bhonsala army in the eighteenth century.[2]

In the *Meghadūta*[3] of Kālidāsa, the Yakṣa in directing the routes of the cloud, in fact, seems to have depicted the actual routes as existed in his time. Thus following the courses of the cloud, we can very well reconstruct the ancient routes of Madhya Pradesh. From the foot of the Rāmagiri hill (Ramtek hill, near Nagpur in Maharashtra) the routes ran north-westwards up to the Āmrakūṭa hill (M. P.), which is the source of the Narmadā river. From this place the route runs westerly following 'the low bank'[4] of the Narmadā till it reaches the Daśārṇa realm, the capital of which was Vidiśā (Besnagar). From Vidiśā the route stretched up to the city of Ujjayinī. This is a famous old route as we have already seen. In between Vidiśā and Ujjayini there was one important river viz., Nirvindhyā which had to be crossed. The route next proceeding from Ujjayinī towards the south of the river Carmaṇvatī (Chambal) at Devagiri, approached the city of Daśapura, in West Malwa. Then it moves towards north and passing through the Brahmāvartta and other regions, which are beyond Madhya Pradesh, it reaches to the Himalayan region.

Hiuen Tsang tells us that although Harṣa had conquered many countries of North India, he could not defeat Pulakeśin II,

1. R. K. Mookherjee, *The Gupta Empire*, 1947, p. 20.
2. See 'Ancient Routes in Orissa' in *Proc. I.H.C.*, 18th session, 1955, pp. 49-50.
3. *Megh.* I, 1-49.
4. Y. M. Goblet, *loc. cit.*

the great Cālukya king.[1] The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin (dated 634 A.D.) describes the defeat of Harṣa by Pulakeśin. It is generally believed that Harṣa made his passage through the conquered territories on the bank of the Narmadā where he met Pulakeśin and was defeated, although the route of Harṣa is not known to us with any certainty.[2]

Hiuen Tsang, a contemporary of Harṣa (C. 606-47 A.D.) made extensive tours in the different parts of India and left an interesting account about the routes followed by him, though it is not always easy to explain. The Chinese pilgrim seems to have entered Madhya Pradesh through the Chih-chi-to (Jajhoti i.e. Jejākabhukti) kingdom. According to the pilgrim Chih-chi-to lay "more than 1,000 *li* (or, 167 miles) to the north-east of Ujjain, and more than 900 *li* (or, 150 miles) to the south of Maheśvarapura" (Gwalior).[3] Hiuen Tsang next comes to the capital of the U-She-yen-na (Ujjayini) kingdom,[4] the city of Ujjayinī via Maheśvarapura which has been identified with Gwalior. The city of Ujjayinī was 30 *li*, or 5 miles in circuit. From Ujjayinī the pilgrim came to the capital of the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o (Mālava), situated to the south-east of the river Maho (Mahī).[5] The capital of Mo-la-p'o was at about 2000 *li*, or 333 miles to north-west of Broach.[6] Cunningham reads it 1000 *li* or 167 miles and identifies the capital with the city of Dhārānagara,[7] which, however, rose into eminence several centuries later.

The pilgrim seems to have entered into Madhya Pradesh once again from Kaliṅga (Orissa). He proceeded about 1800 or 1900 *li* (i.e. 300 to 317 miles) to the north-west from Kaliṅga to the kingdom of Kiao-so-la or Kośala.[8] This led Cunningham to conclude that Vidarbha (Berar) was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala.[9]

1. *C.A.*, p. 107.
2. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd ed.)., p.350. R.K. Mookherjee, *Harṣa*, p. 43.
3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 251.
4. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 412
5. *Ibid.*, p. 413.
6. Julien, *Hiouen Thsang*, vol. III, p. 155.
7. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-14.
8. Julien, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
9. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

But evidence in this respect is absolutely lacking; on the contrary, we have seen earlier that Vidarbha and Kośala were treated as two separate countries even as early as the time of the *Mahābhārata*. By Kośala the pilgrim seems to have understood the kingdom of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala in its widest delimitation.

It may be mentioned here that Fleet[1] explains the passage *Dhārā-mārga-vinirgatāgni-kaṇikā* (7) Occurring in a Maukhari inscription from Jaunpur as 'a spark of fire that had come by the road from Dhārā', and thus he finds evidence of the existence of a direct route from Dhārā to the kingdom of the Maukharis as early as the sixth century A.D. when the inscription was composed. But Sircar[2] interprets the above as 'the spark issuing from the passage of hero's sword' and thinks that it has nothing to do with the city of Dhārā.

Albirūnī who came to India in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., left an interesting account about the various routes connecting the important places of Madhya Pradesh.[3] One of these routes ran south-east from Kanoj (Kanauj) to the realm of Jajāhūti (Jejākabhukti, Jajhoti) covering a distance of 30 *farsakh*.[4] Between Kanoj and Kajūrāha (Kharjūravāhaka, Khajuraho), the capital of Jajāhūti, there were two famous fortresses, viz., Gawaliyar (Gopagiri, Gwalior) and Kālañjar (Kālañjara in U.P.). Tiaurī (Tripurī in the Jabalpur District) was the capital of Ḍāhala-maṇḍala under the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva.[5]

The second route stretched from Māhūra (Mathurā in U.P.) to Ūjain (Ujjayinī). The villages which lay on this route, were 5 *farsakh* and less distance from each other. In the words of the Muslim writer, 'at the end of a march of 35 *farsakh*, he comes to a large village called Dūdahī (near Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P.); thence to Bāmahūr, 17 *farsakh* from Dūdahī; Bhāilsān (Bhāyillasvāmin, Bhilsa), 5 *farsakh*, a place most famous among the Hindus....Thence Ardīn (Ujjayinī),

1. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, vol. III, pp. 228 ff., Plate XXXII-A.
2. Sircar in *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1964, pp. 129-30.
3. See E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, Chap. XVIII, pp. 198ff.
4. One *farsakh* is equal to 4 Arabic miles and to $3\frac{777}{1093}$ English miles. See Sachau, *op. cit.* II, p. 316; *S.G.A.M.I.*, 1960, p. 245.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

9 *farsakh*. The idol worshipped there is called Mahākāla; Dhār (Dhārā), 7 *farsakh*.'[1]

The third one ran from Jattaraur (Citrakūṭa, Cittauda, Citod) to Mālava and its capital, Dhār (i.e. Dhārā) and the distance was 20 *farsakh*. The city of Ūjain (Ujjayinī) lay 7 *farsakh* to the east of Dhārā. 'From Ūjain to Bhāilasān, which likewise belongs to Mālava, the distance is 10 *farsakh*'.[2]

Among the other routes mentioned by the Muslim writer, one emerging from the city of Dhār (Dhārā) proceeded through Bhūmihara, 20 *farsakh* from Dhārā, Kand, another 20 *farsakh's* distance, Namāvur (Nimad) on the banks of the Narmadā (Narbadā), another 10 *farsakh's* distance, and ultimately it reached Maharashtra and stretched itself upto the bank of the Godāvar (Godāvarī) passing through Alīspur (Ellichpur) and Mandagir (Nanded).[3] Another route running through the valley of Namiyya, 7 *farsakh* from Dhār (Dhārā), entered the Mahraṭṭhadeśa (Mahārṣṭradeśa) from where it was extended upto the sea-coast.[4]

From the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV it appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III (Cir. 915-28 A.D.) in course of his northern expedition encamped with his army in the extensive courtyard of Kālapriya for some time, before he crossed the Yamunā; for we are told that Indra's army proceeded towards Mahodaya (Kanauj)[5] In the absence of the names of any other towns in the description of Indra III's northern campaign, it is difficult to trace his route accurately. But there is little doubt that Kalpi, the modern representative of Kālapriya[6]

1. Cf. Extracts from Albirūni's *Kitāb-ul-Hind*; See D. C. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 156.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. cf. *Yanmādyaddvipadantaghātaviṣamaṁ Kālapriyoprāṅganaṁ, tīrṇā yatturagairagādha-Yamunā-Sindhu-pratispardhinī / yenedaṁ hi Mahodayārinagaraṁ nirmūlam-unmūlitaṁ nāmnā-dyāpi Kuśasthalam-iti khyātiṁ parāṁ nīyate //*
—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38.
6. The Khaḍavada inscription (1484 A.D.) of King Ghiyās Khaljī of Maṇḍu refers to one Kālapriya-pattana which has rightly been equated with Kalpi. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 12 ff. See also Sircar's "Kālapriya and Brahmaśilā" in *S.G.A.M.I.*, pp. 241 ff; Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, pp. 35 ff.

lies on the road from Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed) to Kanauj and that the army passed through the kingdom of Yaśovarman to reach Kālapriya. The distance between Kanauj and Kalpi is 75 miles.

In 1023-25 A.D. Rājendra Cola I (1012-44 A.D.) sent an army to bring water of the Ganges. The army proceeding from Southern India arrived at Śakkarakkoṭṭam which is identified with Cakrakoṭa in Bastar.[1] The army passed through Madura-maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkoṇam, and Pañcappaḷḷi which were probably parts of Māśuṇi-deśam or Bastar under the Nāga-vaṁśī rulers.[2] From the Māśuni country the army arrived at Yayātinagara on the Mahānadī near Sonpur in the Balangir District (Orissa). The account of the expedition of Rājendra-cola's army has been preserved in the two Cola records[3] which undoubtedly prove the existence of roadways in this part of Madhya Pradesh stretching towards southern and eastern India.

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, 1935, p. 249.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 250; *S.E.*, p. 287.
3. Cf. The Tiruvalangadu plates of Rājendracola I (1017A.D). *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, No. 205; and the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendracola I (1024 A.D.), *S.E.*, pp. 236-37.

APPENDIX I

The names of the following hills, though they generally do not occur in any literature or inscriptions, are quite interesting, as they, in most cases, are associated with all the local events or legends.

HANUMĀN : To the West and within a short distance of the Gopagiri on which stands the famous fortress of Gwalior, lies the hill called Hanumān. It is a long flat topped sand stone hill, with a basaltic peak at the north-end. There is a white-washed temple on the slopes of hill. Cunningham is of opinion that this hill was named after the temple.[1]

PĀṆḌUĀ : It is a small sacred hill associated with the memory of the Pāṇḍava brothers. The old fort of Jaṭā-śaṅkara stands about 10 miles to the West of Haṭṭa, a small town in the Damoh District. At the north-east point of the fort flows the river Kiyan or Ken (the ancient Śuktimatī) which forces itself through a narrow pass. This portion of the river from its entrance to its exit from the pass, is held especially sacred, for, the five Pāṇḍava brothers, according to a legend,[2] took their bath in the river here; and a hill close to the river was named, in commemoration of this event, as the Pāṇḍuā hill. Pilgrimages are made to this day by the people of the locality to the sacred ghat near the hill.[3]

BĀHORI BAN (BOORABUN) : The Bāhori Ban is the name of a range of hills, which is situated in Kundalpur, a noted place of Jain pilgrimage.[4] On the top of the hill there are some temples, the chief of which is an old temple with a colossal statue of Neminātha inside. The temple is made of rubble and mortar.

1. *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, p. 332.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 56.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

In a small shrine in the courtyard there is a single line of inscription, dated Saṁvat 1501.[1]

PATHARI : The town of Pathari, about 50 miles to the north-north-east of Vidisha (i.e. former Bhilsa) and 13 miles to the south east of Eran, stands on a low hill which is formed of a spur of the large hill of Pathari.[2] The hill of Pathari, which is also known as the Gañjnātha hill, has a good number of sacred edifices.[3] The ruins of two temples exist, one on the top and the other on the side of the hill. There are remains of another temple on the highest peak of the hill at the south end, and at that end, there is a natural but artificially enlarged cave, containing the Jain and Brahmanical sculptures. According to Beglar,[4] this is the legendary Cave where dwelt the devotee or *muni*, who enriched the shepherd. No inscription has been discovered from this region so far.

MUGHUL TOPI : Only one quarter of a mile distant from the south-eastern walls of the famous Asirgarh fort, mentioned above, there is a small but lofty hill now named 'Mughal topi'.[5] Cunningham identifies this hill with the 'little hill called Koriya',[6] which was seized and occupied by Akbar's general before the conquest of the fortress of Asirgarh. The *Akbar Nāmā*[7] points to the strategic importance of this small hill.

AJAIGARH (AJAYAGARH) : It is a fort standing on a hill in the Panna District, M.P. It lies 16 miles in straight line south-west of the hill fort of Kālañjar (formerly an important seat of administration in the kingdom of the Candellas, now in U.P.), wherefrom two Candella inscriptions have been discovered.[8]

The ancient name of Ajayagarh was Jayapuradurga, evidently named after Jayaśakti, one of the early rulers of the Candella

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*
8. Cf. Ajaygarh Stone inscription, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI; and Ajaygarh Rock Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 325-30.

dynasty.[1] The present name of the fort has, however, been derived from Ajayapāla (not Varman).[2]

BAWANGAJA : As we have already noticed that the Bawangaja (meaning 52 yards) hill, which is situated five miles from the town of Barwani is a spur of the Satpura range.[3] It is a place of considerable sanctity among the Jainas. Its name is derived from the popular idea of the height of the gigantic figure of the Jain teacher Gommaṭeśvara. The figure is covered on the face of the hill about three quarters of the way up the slope. On the summit is a small temple constructed from the remains of an older building, which contains two inscriptions dated 1166 and 1459 A.D. Large numbers of Jain pilgrims visit the place on the full moon day of the month of January.

1. *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, 1947, p. 47.
2. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 47.
3. See *Supra* p. 69, n. 2.

APPENDIX II

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

A. Sacred places and Reservoirs

Amareśvarakṣetra

The Mandhata plates of Jayavarman II[1] records the grant of a village Vaḍauda (i.e. Burud, 22 miles from Mandhata) in the Mahuaḍa (Mohod, about 38 miles from Māndhātā) *pathaka* to three Brāhmaṇas at Amareśvara-kṣetra, on the southern bank of the Revā (Narmadā). Amareśvara-kṣetra is undoubtedly in the place where a temple of Śiva with the same name still exists on the left bank of the Narmadā at Māndhātā, 32 miles north west of Khandwa[2]. The sacred Kapila-Saṅgama mentioned in the above inscription is very close to the Amareśvara temple. The holy Amareśvara has also been mentioned in some other inscriptions.[3]

Amareśvara was held in high esteem. The *Skanda Purāṇa*[4] places Amareśvara on the opposite side of Oṁkārnātha, on the southern bank of the Narmadā. In the *Bṛhat-Śiva Purāṇa*[5] Amareśvara is placed in Oṁkāra or Oṁkārakṣetra; but in a list of the twelve great *Liṅgas* of Mahādeva found in the *Śiva Purāṇa*,[6] Oṁkāra is shown at Amareśvara.

Bhṛgutīrtha

It is a famous place of pilgrimage mentioned in the *Padma*[7] and *Matsya*[8] *Purāṇas*. It is identified with Bheraghat, 12 miles to the West of Jabalpur, situated at the confluence of the Narmadā and a small stream that winds round the ruins of Karanbel (ancient Karṇāvatī). The small stream is called Bangaṅgā as well as Sarasvatī. Bheraghat is one of the holy bathing-places on the Narmadā. Here king Gayākarṇa took his bath along with the members of his family and other important officers.[1] Here also queen Gosaladevī, the widow of king Narasiṁhadeva[2] took her bath. It contains the famous temple of the Chaushaṭ Yoginīs.[3] The spot was, as Cunningham observes, a holy one in the eyes of the Brāhmaṇas, and was no doubt celebrated at a very early period for one of these temples.[4]

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 117.
2. Caine, *Picturesque India*, p. 397, *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 76-7.
3. Cf. Mandhata C. P. inscription of Paramāra Jayasiṁha (v.s. 1112), *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 46 ff.; also Mandhata Amareśvara Temple inscription (v.s. 1619-1562A.D.), *I.C.P.B.* p. 84.
4. Cf. *Skanda-Purāṇa, Revākhaṇḍa.*
5. *Bṛhat-Śiva P.*, pt. II, chs. 3 and 4.
6. *Śiva P.*, pt. I, ch. 38.
7. *Padma P.*, Svarga-Khaṇḍa, ch. 9.
8. *Matsya* P., ch. 192.

Kevati-Sthāna

The name occurs in the oldest of the four Sati inscriptions (dated v.s. 1390-1333 A.D.)[5] found near the Kevati-Kuṇḍa which is a famous pool near the junction of the Mahānadī with the Tons, 22 miles to the north-north-east of Rewa, 9 miles to the south-east of the Alha-ghat. Cunningham identifies Kevati-Sthāna with Kevati-Kuṇḍa.[6] The waters of the Mahānadī fall from a cliff 336 ft. in height into the *Kuṇḍa* which is known throughout Northern India, and is much frequented by pilgrims.[7] Markham describes it as "almost quite circular", and as hemmed in by perfectly perpendicular rocks on each side.[8]

In a cave close by, Markham discovered an old Pali inscription of about 200 B.C.[9] This shows the antiquity of the locality.

1. *G.D.A.M.I.*, 1927, p. 34.
2. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. IX, p. 61.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. Cf. Bheraghat Chausath Jogini Temple inscriptions, *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 33ff.
5. *A.S.R. loc. cit.* Cf. *Auṁ' ! Kevati-Sthāna rāje.....*; The Sati inscription, v.s. 1390, *A.S.R.*, vol. XXI, pp. 115-18, and plate No. XXIX.
6. *A.S.R., loc. cit.*
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1880, p. 121.
9. *Loc. cit.*, The inscription has been read by Hoernle as follows : *Hāritīputenam Sonakena Kāritāpukharinī*, i.e. the pool caused to be made by Sonaka, the son of Hāritī. See *A.S.R.*, vol. XXI, *loc. cit.* It is possible that the pool (*pukharinī*) of this record refers to the pool (*kuṇḍa*) of kevati.

Kāverī-saṅgama

Of the two Kāverī rivers mentioned in the *Matsya* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*,[1] the northern Kāverī is a well-known tributary of the Narmadā,[2] and its confluence is the famous *tīrtha* of Kāverī-saṅgama, which is generally extolled in the *Narmadā-Māhātmyas*.[3] The *Matsya* and *Padma Purāṇas*[4] highly praise the holy confluence of the Kāverī-saṅgama. Its sanctity has been upheld there with a legend about Kuvera. According to these sources, "the junction of the Kāverī and Narmadā is famed throughout the world; it destroys all sins; one should bathe there because the Kāverī is very sacred and the Narmadā is a great river; whatever benefit a man may gain between the Ganges and Yamunā (that is, at Prayāga), the same accrues to him when he bathes at the Kāverī-saṅgama".[5] The *Kūrma Purāṇa* also attributes the same greatness of this holy confluence.[6] The *Agni Purāṇa*[7] mentions one 'sacred Kāverī-saṅgama', which, according to Pargiter, is the same as the Kāverī-saṅgama noted above.

Kuntibhoja

The area of Kuntibhoja, also called Bhoja, is famous in the *Mahābhārata* as the place where Kuntī, the consort of Pāṇḍu, was brought up by her adoptive father Kuntibhoja, King of Bhoja.[8] The Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī, a small stream, which used to flow through this place, meets the river Carmaṇvatī (Chambal).[9] From the *Vana-parvan* we learn that Kuntī threw her illegitimate child (afterwards known as Karṇa) in the waters of the Aśvanadī.[10] The *Mahābhārata* also calls it the Kuntī river,[11] which was possibly the same as the Kuntī mentioned

1. *Matsya*, 22, 46 and 64; *Kūrma*, ii, 37, 16 and 22; 39, 40-41.
2. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 442, note 7.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 867.
4. *Matsya* (Anandasrama edition), p. 189; *Padma* (Calcutta edition), p. 188.
5. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*
6. *Kūrma.*, ii, 39, 40-41.
7. *Agni.*, 113, 3.
8. *Mbh.*, I, chs. 111, 112.
9. *Ibid.*, III, ch. 306; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. 10, v. 15.
10. *Mbh.*, III, *loc. cit.*
11. *Ibid.*, IV, ch. I; VI, ch. 9.

in the Purāṇas as issuing out of the Pāriyātra ranges.[1] It thus appears that Kuntibhoja was situated in the Malwa region.

Bhāsa in his drama *Avimāraka* mentions Vairantyanagara as the capital of a king named Kuntibhoja.[2]

Śrī-Saṅgama

The name of Śrī-Saṅgama occurs in line 5 of the Kuleśvara temple inscription at Rajim.[3] The confluence of the Pairi and the Mahānadī generally goes by the name of Śrī-Saṅgama where the temple mentioned above is situated.[4] This was a sacred place. According to Hiralal, the inscription was engraved in the ninth century A.D.[5]

Vaṁsagulma

It is a sacred *Kuṇḍa* (reservoir) on the tableland of the Amarakaṇṭaka, and is mentioned in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.[6] It is situated on the east at a distance of about 4 miles and a half from the source or first fall of the Narmadā.[7]

B. Tanks and Lakes

Candrāditya Samudra

The Barsur Telugu inscription of the time of Jagadekabhūṣaṇa[8] says that Candrāditya mahārāja, a feudatory chief and lord of Ammagrāma, excavated at the capital town of Bārasūru, a tank called Candrāditya Samudra, on whose bank he constructed a temple of Śiva, naming the god also after himself as Candrādityeśvara. As seen earlier, Bārasūru is identified with Barasur, 55 miles West of Jagdalpur in the Bastar District.[9]

1. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 46 and notes.
2. *Avimāraka* (by Bhāsa), Act. VI.
3. Cousens's *Progress Report*, 1904, pp. 48-49. ; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. XVII, p. 15.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, No. 190. p. 112.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Mbh.*, III, ch. 85.
7. *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 21, s.v. Baṁsagulma.
8. *Madras Report of Epigraphy* for 1908-09, pp. 111 ff.; *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 158-59.
9. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 159.

Kharjuri

The Narayanpal inscription of Gunda Mahadevi, the mother of Someśvaradeva, records the grant of a village named Nārāyaṇapura to the God Nārāyaṇa and some land near the Kharjuri tank to the god Lokeśvara.[1] Nārāyaṇapura is the present Narayanpal, a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur in the Bastar District;[2] but the Kharjuri tank which was possibly situated near about Nārāyaṇapura, cannot be located properly. The inscription is dated Śaka 1033 (1111 A.D.).

Vallabha-sāgara

The Akaltara stone inscription refers to a tank called Vallabha-sāgara attached to a pleasure house.[3] The Vallabha-sāgara was evidently named after Vallabharāja who is said to have overrun the Laḍahā country and to have reduced the king of Gauḍa.[4] The Akaltara stone inscription is not dated, but from the Kugda inscription[5] it appears that Pṛthvīdeva II and Vallabharāja were living in Kalacuri year 893 (1141 A.D.).

Bhopāl tāl

Besides the tanks and lakes mentioned above, we may take notice of another vast lake once lying to the west of Bhojapura (23°6′N. and 77°38′E.), but nothing remains at present except the ruins of the magnificent old dams by which its waters were held up.[6] The selection of the site was highly approrpriate as a natural wall of hills enclosed the whole area except for two gaps, in width 100 and 500 yards respectively. These were closed by gigantic dams made of earth faced on both sides with a large number of blocks of sandstone ($4' \times 3' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$) set without mortar. The smaller dam is 44′ ft. high and 300′ ft. thick at the base, the larger dam 24′ ft. high with a flat top 100′ ft. broad.[7]

"These embankments held up a vast expanse of water of about 250 square miles, its southern most point lying just south of

1. *Ep Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 311ff, pp. 161-62.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 160.
3. Cousens's *Progress Report*, 1904, pp. 51-52.
4. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 121.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, p. 84.
6. C. E. Luard, *Bhopal State Gazetteer* (1908), p. 93.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

Kaliaheri town, which stands in what was formerly the bed of the lake, and its northernmost at Dumkhera village near Bhopal city."[1] According to tradition this great work was performed by *Rājā* Bhoja (1000-55 A.D.), of Dhārā but it is possible that the work was completed at an early date.[2] The Vetravatī (Betwa) river being insufficient to fill the area enclosed, the great dam between the lakes[3] at Bhopal city was built, it is said, by a minister of *Rājā* Bhoja, and by it the stream of the Kaliasot river was diverted from its natural course so as to feed this lake.[4]

The name Bhopāla (Bhopal) is popularly derived from Bhojapāla or Bhoja's dam. Some have found an allusion to Bhoja's dam in Ptolemy's Stagaboza (Taṭāka-Bhoja)[5] and thereby wanted to give an impression of its great antiquity. The name is, however, invariably pronounced Bhūpāl by the Hindus, and Fleet thinks it to be derived from *Bhūpāla*, 'a king'.[6]

The great Bhopal lake was ultimately destroyed by Hoshang Shāh of Malwa (1405-34 A.D.) who cut through the lesser dam[7], and thus is said to have added an enormous area of high fertility to his possessions. The climate of Malwa is known to have undergone a great change by the removal of this vast sheet of water.[8] The vastness of the lake is still sung in popular ballads[9] as follows :

1. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. The two great lakes viz., Pukhta-Pul-Talao and Bara Talao are situated in the city of Bhopal. There was originally only one lake, which was held up by the great dam which now separates the two lakes. One dam was built by a minister of *Rājā* Bhoja, and the second dam which holds up the water of the lower lake was built in 1794 by Chhote Khān as minister to Nawab Hayat Muhammad. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 142 ff.
4. C. E. Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 348; *G.D.A.M.I.*, 2nd ed., S.V.Bhojapāla.
6. C. E. Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 1; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. VIII, p. 126.
7. According to a tradition prevalent, among the Gonds that it took an army of them three months to cut through the dam, and that the lake took three years to empty, while its bed was not habitable for 30 years afterwards, see C. E. Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Tāl to Bhopāl tāl aur sab talaiya, Rānī to Kamalāpati aur sab Ranaiya, Garh to Citorgarh aur sab Garhiya, Rājā to Rāmacandra aur sab Rajaiya.

C. *Forests*

Aṣṭādaśāṭavīrājya

The eighteen forest kingdoms referred to in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Saṁkṣobha (G. E. 209=529 A.D.).[1] These kingdoms were apparently in Madhya Pradesh and included Ḍāhala or the Jabalpur region.[2] Saṁkṣobha was a *Prarivrājaka Mahārāja* ruling over this part of Central India as a feudatory of the Guptas. Earlier, the forest (*āṭavika*) kingdoms were conquered by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.[3] It may be noticed here that the Allahabad *praśasti*, like the *Mahābhārata*,[4] distinguishes the *Āṭavikas* from the *Kāntārakas*, both referring to the forest regions.[5] We also come across a similar expression of 18 forest kingdoms of Orissa in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha.[6]

Daṇḍakāraṇya

The *Rāmāyaṇa* places it between the Vindhya and the Saivala mountain, a part of it being called Janasthāna.[7] Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacarita* places the Daṇḍaka forest, known as Citrakuñjavat, to the West of Janasthāna.[8] R. G.

1. *Sel. Ins.*, (2nd ed.), pp. 394-96.
2. Cf. *aṣṭādaśāṭavī-rājyābhyantaram Ḍabhālā* (*Ḍāhala*) *rājyaṁ...Ibid.*, p. 395.
3. Cf. *Paricārakīkṛta-sarvāṭavika-rājasya*, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 265. The *āṭavika* kingdoms undoubtedly included the realm of Ālavaka (Ghazipur) as well as the forest kingdoms connected with Dabhala or the Jabalpur territory. The conquest of this territory by Samudragupta is suggested also by his Eran inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 267 ff). See *P.H.A.I.*, p. 538; Fleet, *C.I.I.* p. 114.
4. *Mbh.*, II, 31, 13-15.
5. Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 264, line 19 and p. 265, line 21. See also *P.H.A.I.*, p. 538 note.
6. Cf. *Tosalyāṁ āṣṭādaśāṭavīrājyāyām*; See *Ep, Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 331.
7. *Rām.*, VIII, 81.
8. *Uttararāmacarita*, Act I; ed. S. Ray, Calcutta, 1934, p. 121.

Bhandarkar[1] identifies the Daṇḍakāraṇya region with the present Maharashtra. The Purāṇas[2] mention the people of Daṇḍaka, which is, according to D. C. Sircar,[3] the old name of parts of the Maratha country including especially the Nasik District.

It appears that after leaving the Citrakūṭa forest, Rāmacandra went to the Daṇḍaka forest in the south,[4] and he is said to have lived there for a long time. The *Rāmopākhyāna*[5] calls the Krauñcalaya forest Daṇḍaka, besides placing the Daṇḍaka forest between Śarabhaṅga's hermitage and the Godāvarī. This has led Pargiter to conclude that Daṇḍaka, as a general name, comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand down to the river Kṛṣṇā.[6] B. C. Upadhyaya, also on the basis of the *Raghuvaṁśa* observes that Daṇḍakāraṇya lay partly to the north and partly to the south of the Vindhyas and may have well included the forest region of Chitrakūṭa within its northern limit.[7]

According to a list of *tīrthas* in the *Mahābhārata*,[8] the Daṇḍaka forest is placed somewhere between the Bhopal State and the sources of the Godāvarī. But Pargiter considers the list to be a 'later product'.[9]

The *Devī Purāṇa*[10] mentions Daṇḍakāraṇya as one of the nine sacred *araṇyas* or forests in India.

Kāntāra

The Rajim stone inscription while describing the exploits of one Jagapāla during the reign of Pṛthvīdeva II of Śrīpura (i.e. Sirpur) mentions Kāntāra in the list of the territories conquered by (Jagapāla).[11] Kāntāra evidently indicates a forest

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of Deccan*, Section II.
2. See *Puranic List of Peoples* in *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 30.
3. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p. 30 note.
4. *Rām.*, I, 9, 42.
5. *Mbh.*, III, 275 (*Rāmopākhyāna*); *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 231-50.
6. Pargiter in *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 242.
7. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, 1947, pp. 8-11.
8. *Mbh.*, III, 80-155; *J.R.A.S.*, op. cit.
9. Pargiter, *op. cit.*
10. *Devī* P., Ch. 74.
11. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 88, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff.

kingdom which is placed between Kākaraya (Kanker) and Kusumabhoga (Kusmurra in the Dhamtari Tahsil, 18 miles south-west of Rajim) in the inscription.[1] Kāntāra has probably been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as lying between Veṇvā-taṭa (the valley of the Wainganga) and Prāk-kośala (the eastern part of Kośala).[2]

Raychaudhuri takes Mahākāntāra, mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, as a wild tract in or about the Jabalpur region including Kāntāra of the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

Gajavana

The *Dikpālas* and *Diggajas* are usually connected with the eight principal directions e.g. (1) *pūrva* (east), (2) *āgneya* (south-east), (3) *dakṣiṇa* (south), (4) *nairṛta* (south-west), (5) *paścima* (west), (6) *vāyavya* (north-west),[7] *uttara* (north) and (8) *aiśāna* (north-east).[4] The number of the *Diggajas*, according to D.C. Sircar,[5] possibly influenced the ancient Indian writers who classified Indian elephants under 8 typical groups representing 8 different elephant forests (*gajavana*).

Of the elephants of eight countries described by Kauṭilya, the elephants of Daśārṇa and Aparānta have been taken as belonging to the medium class.[6] Daśārṇa was East Malwa with its capital at Vidiśā (Besnagar in the Vidisha District, M.P.). The *Mānasollāsa* of king Someśvara III (1126-38 A.D.) refers to the elephant forests of Kaliṅga, Cedi-kārūśaka and Daśārṇa as the best.[7] The Cedi-kārūśaka forest is said to have extended from Tripurī (Tewar near Jabalpur) to the mountainous areas of the Kośala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa-Kośala) country in the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur regions of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.[8] The Somavaṁśīs were ruling over south Kośala with Yayāti-

1. *C.I.I.*, *loc. cit.*, *Ind. Ant.*, *loc. cit.*
2. *Mbh.*, II, 31, 12-13.
3. *P.H.A.I.*, (6th ed.), p. 539.
4. See Apte's *Pract. Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *aṣṭan*.
5. Sircar in *The Bhakticult and Ancient Indian Geography*, pp. 160-72.
6. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 2 (ed. Shama Sastry), p. 50.
7. Cf. *Kāliṅgaṁ Ve(Ce)di-Kārūśaṁ Dāśārṇam ca vaṅgaṁ varam /..... Mānasollāsa*, 1, 2, 179-81.
8. Cf. *Tripuryāṁ Kośalādrau ca Ve(Ce) di-Kārūśakam Vanam /..... Ibid.*, 1, 2. 174-75.

nagara (on the upper Mahānadī) as their capital upto the twelfth century A.D. It appears that the Kārūśa country (i.e. the Shahabad District, Bihar) has been excluded from Cedi-Kārūśaka as described above. The author of the *Mānasollāsa*, however, places the Daśārṇa forest in the far south, far away from the Daśārṇa country in East Malwa.[1]

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which was composed earlier than the *Mānasollāsa* suggests that the *Diggaja* Padma (or Puṇḍarīka) resides in the Kārūśa forest which was bounded by the Unmatta-Gaṅgā (possibly a tributary of the Ganges), Tripurī (near Jabalpur), Daśārṇa (East Malwa) and the Mekala (the Amarakaṇṭaka and the Maikal ranges).[2] These boundaries apparently indicate the Cedi country and not the Kārūśa region in Bihar. Again, the abode of the *Diggaja* Nāga (i.e. Puṣpadanta) is said to be the Daśārṇaka forest, which was bounded by the Bilvaśaila (possibly, Bhilsa, the place of the sun-god Bhāyillasvāmin), the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) running between Besnagar and Bhilsa (now Vidisha), the Daśārṇagiri (apparently in East Malwa) and Mekala.[3]

In the opinion of Sircar, the association of a particular *Diggaja* with a particular forest was influenced by the different notions of the various writers regarding the quarter represented by a *Diggaja* and this 'led to the discrepancy among their views'.[4]

Vana-Vaḍada

This occurs in the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (Kalacuri 933).[5]

Mirashi[6] takes it to mean 'Vaḍada of the forest region'. In other words, the forest was so named after the place situated within it. Vaḍada has been identified with Baluda in the Janjgir Tahsil, 30 miles north-by-west of Kharod (from where the inscription was discovered) in the District of Bilaspur.[7]

1. *Ibid.*, 1, 2, 176-77.
2. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, 1, 251, 24-25.
3. Cf. *Bilvaśailaṁ Vetravatī Daśārṇam ca mahāgirim,*
   teṣāṁ Daśārṇakaṁ madhye Puṣpadantasya kānanam.
   Ibid., 1, 251, 26-27.
4. Sircar in *The Bhakticult and Ancient Indian Geography*, *loc. cit.*
5. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, pp. 531 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 536.
7. *Loc. cit.*

D. Market-towns

Navahaṭṭa

One of the Gandheśvara temple inscription[1] records that the flowers for the worship (*pūjā*) of Gandheśvara were to be supplied by the *mālīs* (gardeners) of Navahaṭṭa (literally, 'New Market'). Navahaṭṭa of this record is, according to Hiralal,[2] the same as Praṇavahaṭṭaka of another Gandheśvara temple inscription. Navahaṭṭa or Praṇavahaṭṭaka, as the name indicates, implies any market of the said name, possibly situated on the outskirts of the city of Śrīpura (Sripur). Hiralal, thinks that Navahaṭṭa may have been a quarter of Sirpur, if not a separate village.[3]

Praṇavahaṭṭaka

This name occurs in another Gandheśvara temple inscription.[4] Hiralal takes it to be the same as Navahaṭṭa.[5]

E. Forts

(a) *Kosaṅga*

According to Mirashi Kosaṅga, mentioned in the Kosgain stone inscription of Vahara, (No.1) is the fort of Kosgain in the former Churi-Zamindari, (in the district of Bilaspur), where the inscription was discovered.[6] It is said that king Vāharendra, son of Ratnasena of the Haihaya (Kalacuri) family stored abundant wealth and provisions in the fortress of Kosanga, from which he used to sally forth in search of enemies.[7] Vāharendra appears to have flourished at the end of the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 179 ff.; *A.S.R.*, vol. XVII, p. 25.
2. *I.C.P.B.*, p. 98.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ind. Ant., loc. cit.*
5. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 98-99.
6. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, pp. 557-63. The fort of Kosgain is described by Beglar in Cunningham's *A.S.R.*, vol. XIII, pp. 153 ff.
7. *C.I.I.. op. cit.*, p. 559.

(b) *Macakasihavā*

The fort (*durga*) of Macakasihavā became an integral part of the kingdom of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur in the time of Pṛthvīdeva II.[1] Macakasihavā has been identified by Hiralal with Mecaka-sihawa, situated to the south of Dhamtari.[2]

(c) *Sarahāgaḍha*

The Rajim stone inscription of Jagapāladeva states that the great fort (*mahādurga*) of Sarahāgaḍha was conquered by the Kalacuris (Ratanpur) during the reign of Pṛthvīdeva II.[3] Kielhorn suggested that Sarahāgaḍha is the ancient name of Sarangarh, formerly a feudatory State in Chhattisgarh.[4] Hiralal takes it to be Sorar, about 44 miles south of Drug.[5]

1. *Ibid.*, No. 88, pp. 450-57.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 452-53.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 453.
5. *I.C.P.B.*, pp. 107-8.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	—	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
A.G.I. or, *Anc. Geo. Ind.*	—	*Ancient Geography of India*, by Cunningham (Indian Reprint), Varanasi, 1963.
A.H.D.	—	*Ancient History of the Deccan*, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (English translation), Pondicherry, 1920.
A.I.K.	—	*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
A.I.H.T.	—	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1932.
Ait. Br.	—	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
A.I.U.	—	*The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
A.M.V.T.	—	*Ancient Malwa and Vikramāditya Tradition*, by D.C. Sircar, Delhi, 1969.
A.S.R.	—	*Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
A.S.R. (*A.R*)	—	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
A.S.W.I.	—	*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
Abhidhāna	—	*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.*
Bhandarkar's List	—	*A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIX-XXIII.
Bom. Gaz.	—	*Bombay Gazetteer.*
Br.	—	*Brāhmaṇa.*
Bṛhat.	—	*Bṛhatsaṁhitā.*
Bud. Ind.	—	*Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids (Indian Reprint).
C. A.	—	*The Classical Age*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

C. I. I.	—	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
C.P. Dist. Gaz.	—	*Central Province District Gazetteer.*
Cam. Hist. Ind.	—	*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ed. E. J. Rapson, 1923.
D.H.N.I.	—	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vols. I & II, by H. C. Ray.
D.L.I.C.P.B.	—	*Descriptive List of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar*, by Hiralal, 1st ed. 1916.
D.P.P.N.	—	*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vols. I & II, by Malalasekera.
Dey	—	N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 1927.
Dīpa	—	Dīpavaṁsa.
E.H.D.	—	*Early History of the Dekkan*, by R. G. Bhandarkar.
Ep. Ind.	—	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Geo. Enc.	—	*Geographical Encyclopedia*, ed. Bajpai, 1967.
Geo. Pur.	—	*The Geography of the Purāṇas*, by S. M. Ali, 1966.
G.D.A.M.I.	—	*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by N. L. Dey, 1927.
H.O.S.	—	*Harvard Oriental Series.*
I.C.P.B.	—	*List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, by Hiralal, 2nd. ed., Nagpur, 1932.
I.G.I.	—	*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*
I.H.Q.	—	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Ind. Ant. (*I.A.*)	—	*Indian Antiquary.*
J. or *Jātaka*	—	*Jātaka*, ed. by V. Fausböll, London, 1877-90.
J.A.H.R.S.	—	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
J.A.I.H.	—	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta
J.A.O.S.	—	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

J.A.S.B.	—	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	—	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J.B.O.R.S.	—	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
J.B.R.S.	—	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
J.I.H.	—	*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
J.R.A.S.	—	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
Journ. Asiat.	—	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
List	—	*A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar.
Märk.	—	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*
Mbh.	—	*Mahābhārata.*
Megh.	—	*Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.
N.I.A.	—	*New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
P	—	*Purāṇa.*
P.H.A.I.	—	*Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, 6th ed. 1953.
Proc. I.H.C.	—	*Proceedings of Indian History Congress.*
Proc. A.I.C.C.	—	*Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference.*
Prog. R.A.S.I., W.C.	—	*Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*
P.T.D.K.A.	—	*The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, by F. E. Pargiter, (Indian Reprint), 1962.
Ptolemy	—	*Ancient India by Ptolemy*, ed. Majumdar-Sastri.
P.T.S.	—	*Pali Text Society*, London.
Rām.	—	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
Raghu.	—	*Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa.
Samarāṇga	—	*Samarāṇganasūtradhāra.*
S.G.A.M.I.	—	*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, by D.C. Sircar, 1960.

S.I.A.	—	*Studies in Indian Antiquities*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, 1958.
Sel. Ins.	—	*Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, ed. by D.C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1965.
S. E.	—	*The Struggle for Empire*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2nd. ed., 1966.
S.I.I.	—	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
Schoff	—	*The Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, trans. by Schoff.
Triṣaṣṭi	—	*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita.*
Z.D.M.G.	—	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.*

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

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1	line 2	Read	A. C. Carlleyele
1	note 6 line 2	Read	S. B. Subbarao
2	line 8	Read	ruddle
2	note 2 line 1	Read	Pakistan
5	line 28	Read	Prasii
9	note 8		*Goptari nā Agnimitre.*
13	line 7	Read	*Ṛgya-gar-cos-ḥbyn*
29	line 23	Read	Kokkalla I
	,, 25	Read	Kokkalla I
	note 6 line 2	Read	Vol. XXII
35	line 20	Read	Sūbah
35	note 2 line 2	Read	p.446
47	delete note 3;	Read	other notes as 3, 4; add note 5. *Ibid.* pp. 334-35.
53	line 12	Read	were based on
54	line 14	Read	Tonk
64	transfer note 5 to		next line *Cf. Vindhya°*
78	note 1 line 1	Read	*Mekala=ścotkalaiḥ*
79	line 16	Read	Pītaparvata
97	line 6	Read	Namodos
101	line 8	Read	Dosaron
112	note 8	Read	Vol. XVII
114	line 23	Read	temple[8]
115	note 1	Read	D.L.I.C.P.B., p. 154
117	note 6 line 6	Read	Vītihotra; Sāryata
	note 6 line 7	Read	A.I.H.T.
120	line 17	Read	thereafter
123	delete note 4; then	Read	4, 5,6 and *add* 7.S.B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p.36
124	line 1	Read	Capitals
132	note 1 line 1	Read	Potinar
135	note 7	Read	Guhilas
136	lines 15 and 17	Read	*li*
136	note 5 line 1	Read	Reinaud
137	line 9	Read	Bilhari

Page			
137	line 11	Read	Buchanan
138	line 14	Read	to Pṛthvī, so Jeja gave..
145	line 24	Read	Potinar
145	note 1	Read	*Ibid.* p.211
150	note 5 line 2	Read	Risley
153	line 20	Read	or
158	line 5	Read	Vasahā
159	line 15	Read	Mahāraṇakas
161	line 5	Read	Khaṇḍa
162	line 5	Read	āvasthayām
172	line 12	Read	c. second century B.C.
182	note 8	Read	*Ibid.*, p. 99
184	note 7	Read	IV. 252.
190	note 5	Read	D.P.P.N., *loc. cit*
199	line 23	Read	Bhānugupta (G.E. 191-510A.D[6] find . . .
	note 1 line 4	Read	K.D.Bajpai, *op.cit.*, p.120
201	note 3 line 2	Read	XXXI
203	note 1 line 2	Read	appear to have ruled
206	line 20	Read	in commemoration
208	lines 15,19,20,22	Read	Durg
211	note 7	Read	p.181
212	line 1	Read	Kākanāye
212	note 10 line 2	Read	1.5,
218	note 6	Read	D.L.I.C.P.B, p.23
221	lines 11, 15	Read	Durg
226	note 8	Read	C.I.I., Vol IV. pp. 486 ff.
228	line 22	Read	Digaura
230	line 28	Read	Durg
231	line 1	Read	Durg
232	line 12	Read	Keramaruka
235	lines 6 & 12	Read	Durg
246	line 6	Read	Caralāyī
247	line 25	Read	Nālīpadra
251	Read the notes in the fg. order—1,5,6,2,3,4		
264	note 5 line 4	Read	*Kuśasthalam-iti Janaiḥ...*

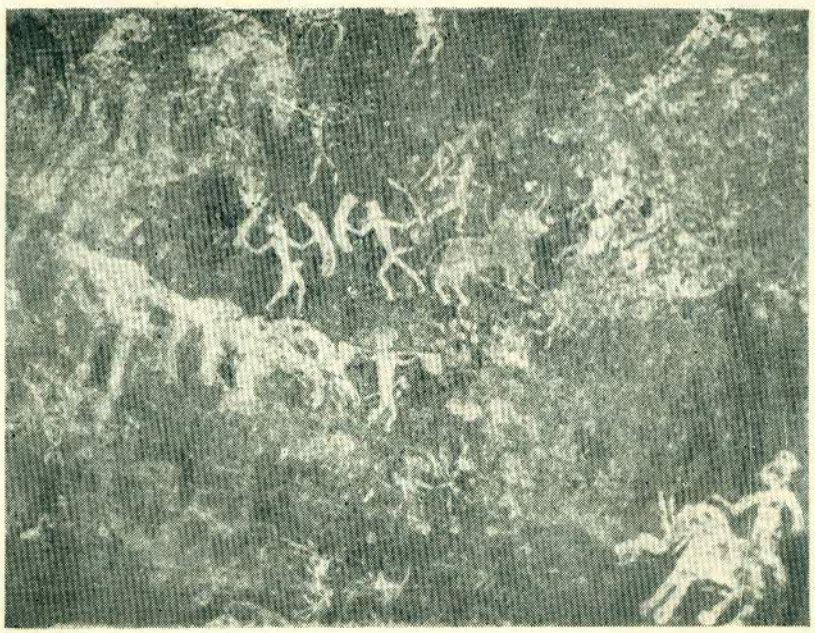


PLATE I

Rock painting at Barkherā (near Hoshangabad) showing various scenes :

1. Men fighting with arms 2. Man carrying *vihaṅgikā*
3. Horse & elephant riders 4. Man carrying a bull with rope.

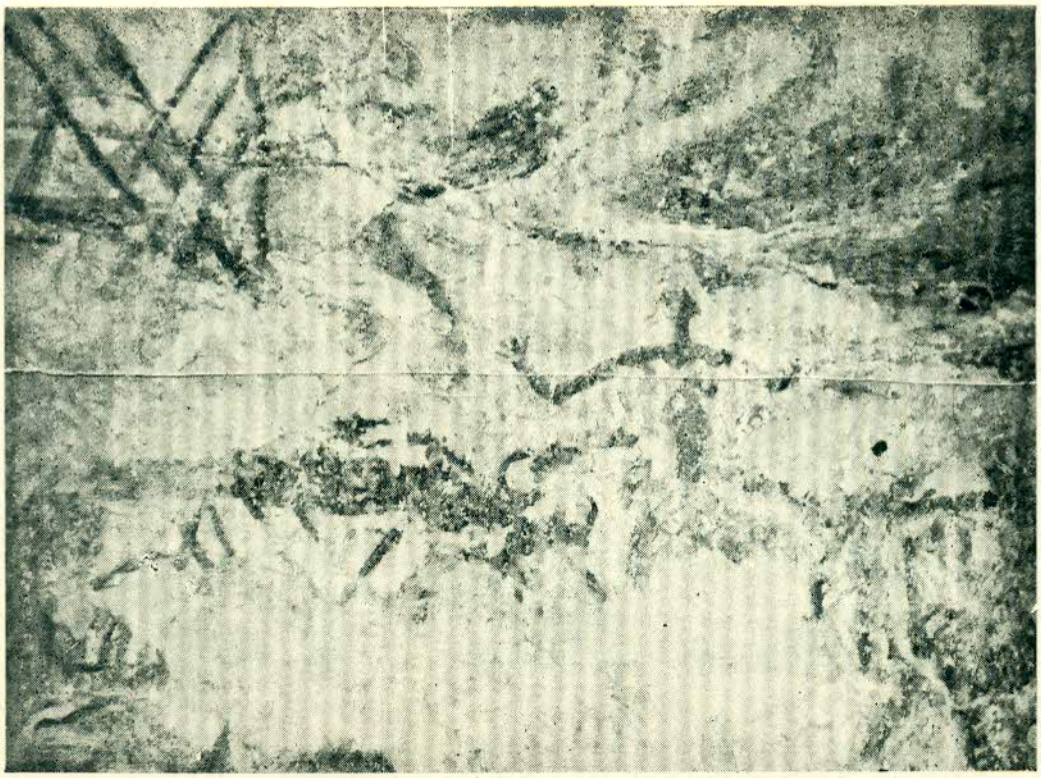
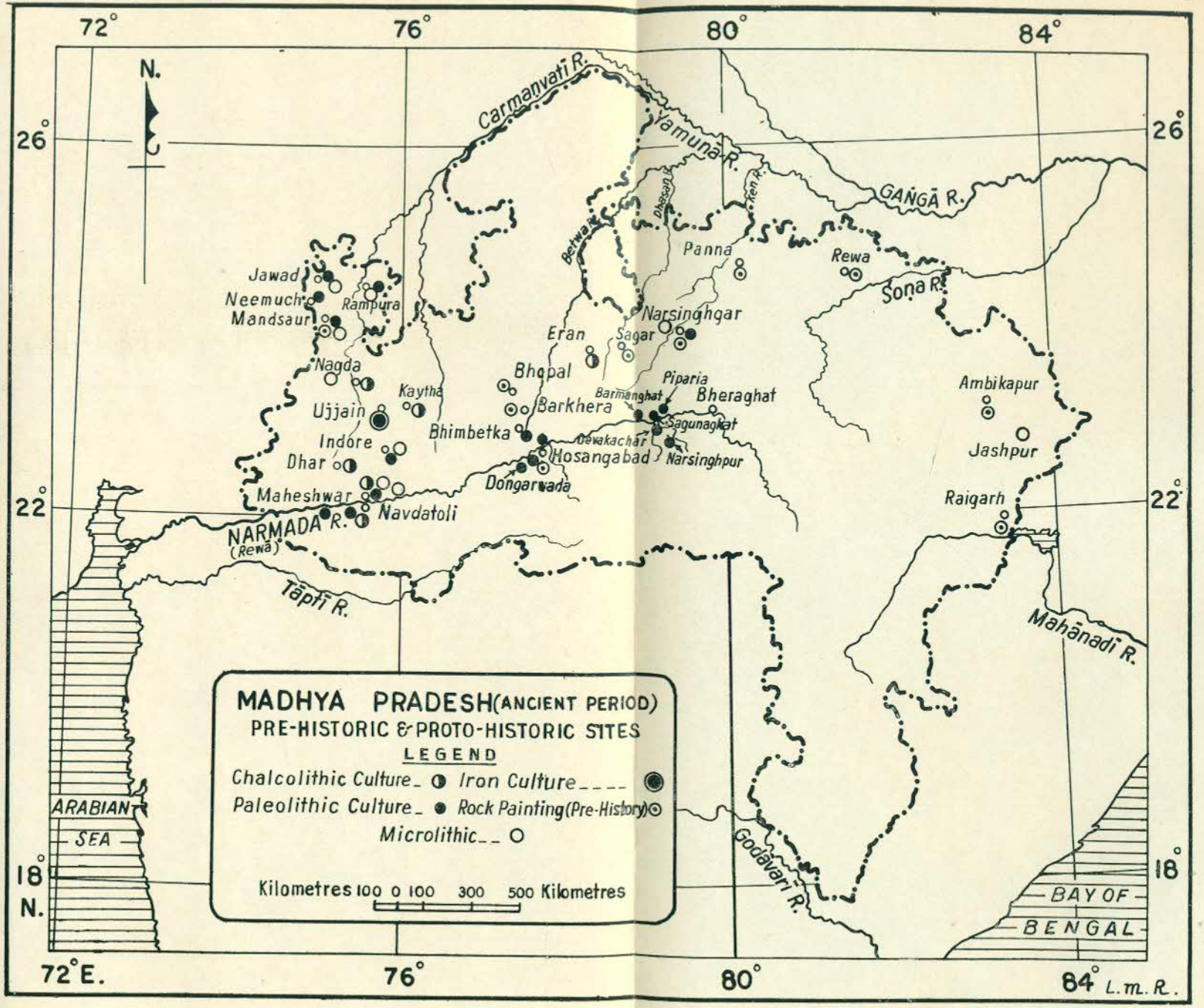
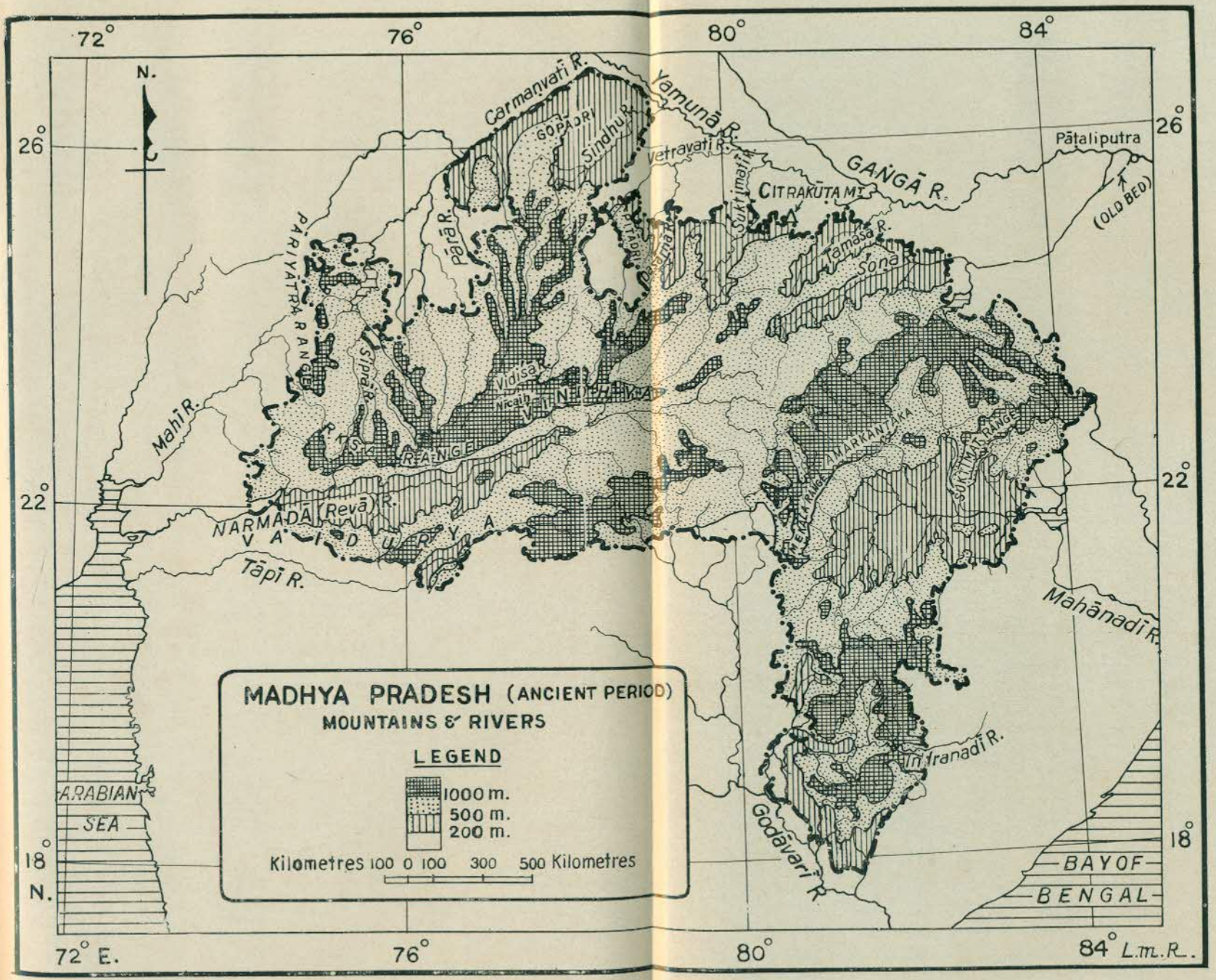
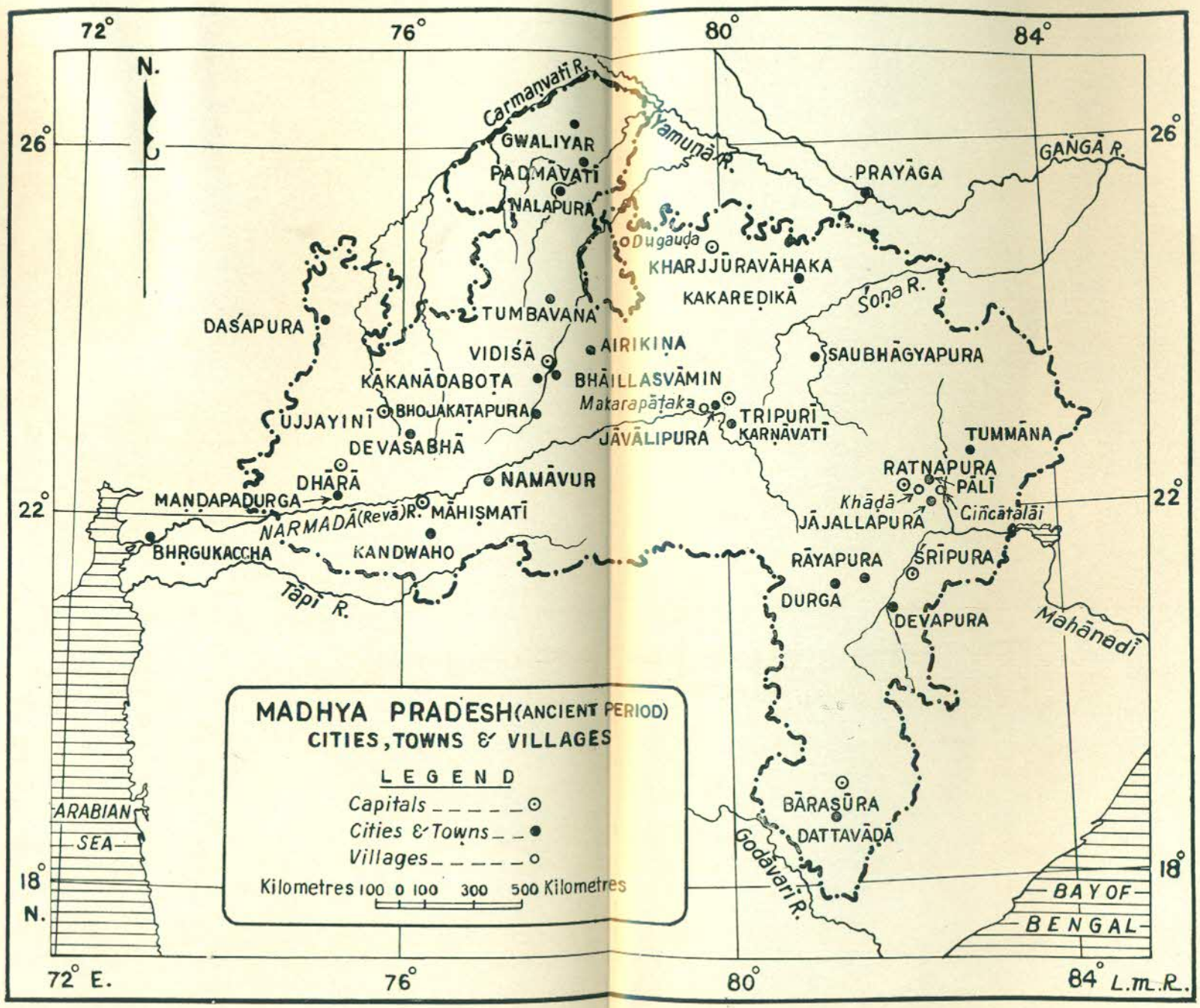


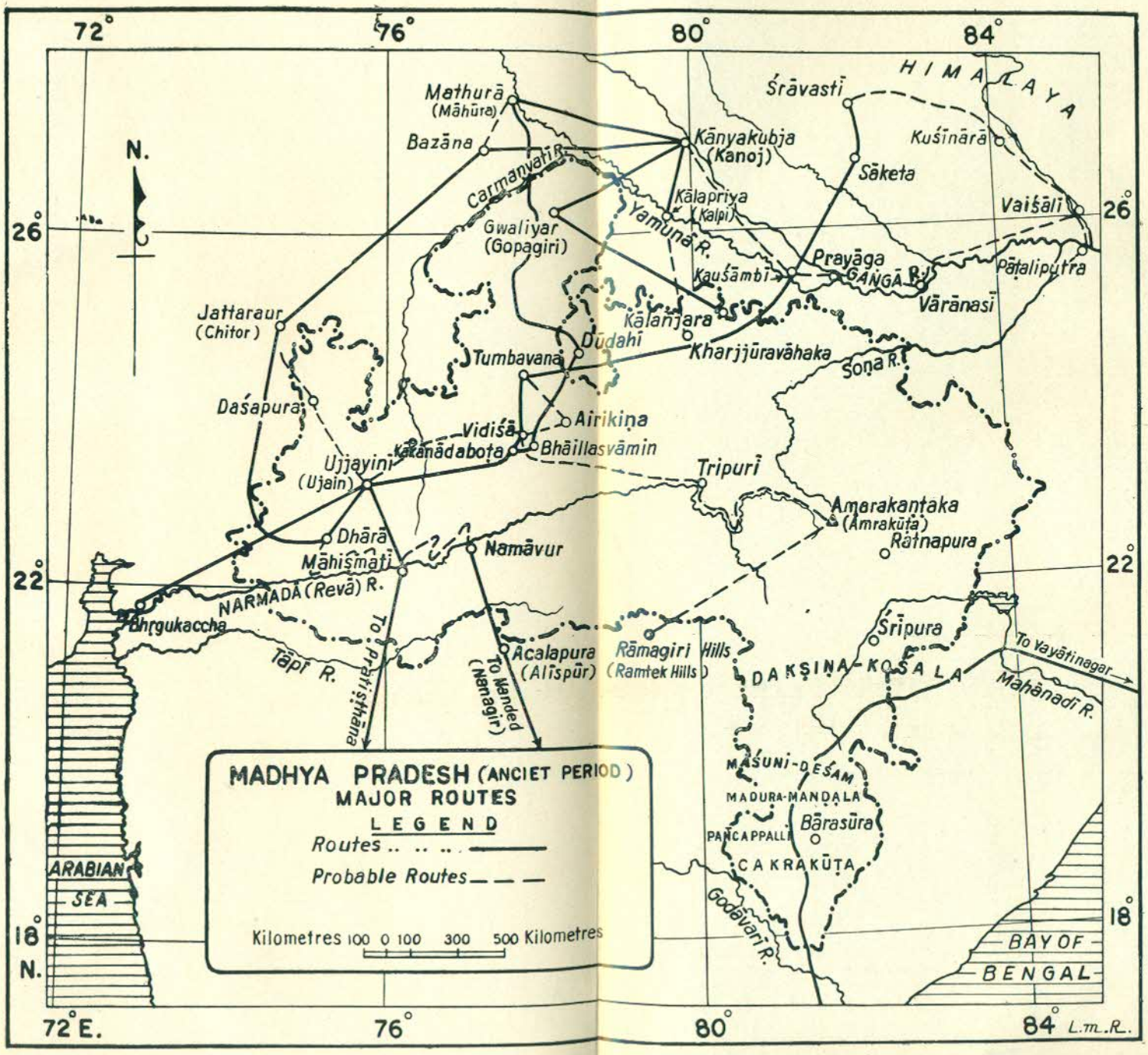
PLATE II

Ramachhajja, Distt. Raisen (M.P.) Rock-painting showing a human figure surrounded by animals.


72°
76°
80°
84°
N.
26°
22°
18° N.
72° E.
L.m.R.
Carmanvati R.
Yamuna R.
GANGA R.
Sona R.
Betwa R.
Dhasan R.
Ken R.
Narmada R.
(Rewa)
Tapti R.
Mahanadi R.
Godavari R.
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Jawad
Neemuch
Mandsaur
Rampura
Nagda
Kaytha
Ujjain
Indore
Dhar
Maheshwar
Navdatoli
Eran
Sagar
Narsinghgar
Panna
Rewa
Bhopal
Barkhera
Bhimbetka
Piparia
Barmanghat
Bheraghat
Sagunaghat
Devakachar
Hosangabad
Narsinghpur
Dongarwada
Ambikapur
Jashpur
Raigarh
MADHYA PRADESH (ANCIENT PERIOD)
PRE-HISTORIC & PROTO-HISTORIC SITES
LEGEND
Chalcolithic Culture
Iron Culture
Paleolithic Culture
Rock Painting (Pre-History)
Microlithic
Kilometres 100 0 100 300 500 Kilometres


MADHYA PRADESH (ANCIENT PERIOD)
MOUNTAINS & RIVERS
LEGEND
1000 m.
500 m.
200 m.
Kilometres 100 0 100 300 500 Kilometres
N.
72°
76°
80°
84°
26°
22°
18°
72° E.
84° L.m.R.
Carmaṇvatī R.
Yamunā R.
GOPĀDRI
Sindhu R.
Vetravatī R.
Suktimatī R.
CITRAKŪṬA MT.
GAṄGĀ R.
Pāṭaliputra
(OLD BED)
Tamasā R.
Sonā R.
Pārā R.
PĀRIYĀTRA RANGE
Sipra R.
Vidisā R.
Nīcaih
VINDHYA
RKSA RANGE
Mahī R.
NARMADĀ (Revā) R.
VAIDURYA
Tāpī R.
AMARKANTAKA
MEKALA RANGE
SUKTIMAT RANGE
Mahānadī R.
Indranadī R.
Godāvarī R.
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL


72°
76°
80°
84°
N.
26°
22°
18°
Carmaṇvatī R.
Yamunā R.
GANGĀ R.
GWALIYAR
PADMĀVATĪ
NALAPURA
PRAYĀGA
Dugauḍa
KHARJJŪRAVĀHAKA
KAKAREḌIKĀ
Soṇa R.
DAŚAPURA
TUMBAVANA
VIDIŚĀ
AIRIKIṆA
SAUBHĀGYAPURA
KĀKANĀDABOṬA
BHĀILLASVĀMIN
Makarapāṭaka
UJJAYINĪ
BHOJAKAṬAPURA
TRIPURĪ
KARṆAVATĪ
JĀVĀLIPURA
TUMMĀNA
DEVASABHĀ
RATNAPURA
PĀLĪ
DHĀRĀ
NAMĀVUR
Khāḍā
Ciñcātālāi
MAṆḌAPADURGA
NARMADĀ(Revā)R.
MĀHIṢMATĪ
JĀJALLAPURA
BHṚGUKACCHA
KANDWAHO
RĀYAPURA
ŚRĪPURA
Tāpi R.
DURGA
DEVAPURA
Mahānadī
ARABIAN SEA
BĀRAŚŪRA
DATTAVĀḌA
Godāvarī R.
BAY OF BENGAL
MADHYA PRADESH (ANCIENT PERIOD)
CITIES, TOWNS & VILLAGES
LEGEND
Capitals
Cities & Towns
Villages
Kilometres 100 0 100 300 500 Kilometres
72° E.
L.m.R.


MADHYA PRADESH (ANCIET PERIOD)
MAJOR ROUTES
LEGEND
Routes
Probable Routes
Kilometres 100 0 100 300 500 Kilometres
N.
72°
76°
80°
84°
26°
22°
18°
72° E.
HIMALAYA
Mathurā (Māhūra)
Bazāna
Kānyakubja (Kanoj)
Śrāvastī
Kuśīnārā
Sāketa
Vaiśālī
Carmanvatī R.
Gwaliyar (Gopagiri)
Kālapriya (Kalpi)
Yamunā R.
Prayāga
GAṄGĀ R.
Kauśāmbī
Pāṭaliputra
Vārānasī
Jattaraur (Chitor)
Kālañjara
Dūdahī
Kharjjūravāhaka
Tumbavana
Soṇa R.
Daśapura
Airikiṇa
Vidiśā
Kākanādaboṭa
Bhāillasvāmin
Ujjayinī (Ujain)
Tripurī
Amarakaṇṭaka (Amrakūṭa)
Ratnapura
Dhārā
Māhiṣmatī
Namāvur
NARMADĀ (Revā) R.
Bhṛgukaccha
Śrīpura
To Vayātinagar
Tāpī R.
To Pratiṣṭhāna
To Manded (Nanagir)
Acalapura (Alīspūr)
Rāmagiri Hills (Ramtek Hills)
DAKṢIṆA-KOSALA
Mahānadī R.
MAŚUNI-DEŚAM
MADURA-MANḌALA
Bārasūra
PAÑCAPPALLI
CAKRAKŪṬA
Godāvarī R.
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
L.m.R.